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Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea.

LORD TENNYSON

HISTORY OF BOLTON,

1738—1938

Remember the days of old, consider the years
of many generations.

DEUTERONOMY 32:7



1938
BOLTON
MASSACHUSETTS

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PREFACE

At the annual Town Meeting in February, 1937, a committee was appointed to write a history of Bolton for the celebration of the town's two hundredth anniversary. The committee has been assisted in greater or smaller degree by nearly all the townspeople, without whose aid and enthusiasm the work would have been impossible of accomplishment. Some, however, because of their help in research or composition, deserve the particular thanks of the committee.

Miss Ella V. Barrett, Reverend J. N. Pardee, Miss Hazel M. Randall, Mrs. Ethel M. Wheeler, Mrs. Dorothy Mayo, Mrs. Helen R. Woodbury, Miss Ruth Randall, Philip N. Dow, Henry C. Whitcomb, Miss Lillian Cate, and Miss Frances Ingalls have made valuable contributions to the contents of the book.

The young ladies of the town have attended to the typing of the manuscript, Miss Ingalls having done the greater part of it, with assistance by the Misses Ruea Wheeler, Ruth Randall, Marjorie Pardee, Dorothy Corliss, and Mrs. Mary E. Sprague. Mrs. Esther S. Capron and S. H. Kimmens have contributed photostatic work. To Mr. Lowell T. Clapp we are indebted for the modern pictures. The old ones were loaned by owners too numerous to mention. A number of anecdotes were contributed by Reverend Edwin B. Dolan, while several odd bits of information were sent us by Miss Clara Endicott Sears. Through the

kindness of the Honorable K. P. Aldrich, Chief Inspector of the Post Office Department at Washington, the early records of the local office were secured.

The employees of the Archives Department at the State House, the Registrar of Deeds, the employees of the Registry, and Major Pond, Assistant Clerk of Courts of Worcester County, have all been most kind and helpful. Mr. W. I. Dunn, curator of the Holder Memorial, loaned many old documents, particularly those of the Holman family.

The thanks of the committee are hereby expressed to Reverend Frederick L. Weis, of Lancaster, for advice and many valuable suggestions. The fact that he is descended from at least four of the town's early families accounts for the special interest he has taken in our history.

The committee has been constantly astonished at the wealth of historical material available. Twice as much might have been written, if time and space had permitted. However, the committee believe that if, through this history, a true picture of the past has been portrayed, we shall have accomplished the task we attempted, and we shall be satisfied that our work is finished.

ESTHER K. WHITCOMB, *Chairman*
CATHERINE E. NOURSE
FLORENCE A. WHEELER
SUSAN L. DOW
JOHN C. POWERS
W. D. S. SHIELDS

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HISTORY OF BOLTON

I

HISTORY BEFORE INCORPORATION

Fond memory brings the light
Of other days around me.

THOMAS MOORE

ABOUT 1643, Mr. Thomas King, a trader of Watertown, in company with several others, purchased from Sholan, an Indian sagamore, a tract of land ten miles long from north to south and eight miles wide in the valley of the Nashua. This purchase was sanctioned by the General Court and was known as the Nashaway Plantation. The name was derived from the Indian "Nashawog" meaning "The Place Between" or "Land in the Angle Made by Two Rivers."

A trucking house or trading post for barter with the Indians was soon built by Messrs. Symonds and King on the southeast side of George Hill. The owners of the tract of land were directed by the Court to begin settlement without delay, but for a number of years there was almost no settlement. Possibly this was due to the distance of this new "plantation" from the older towns. It was sixteen miles beyond Sudbury and could be reached only by crossing the dreaded Sudbury meadows, which were entirely submerged in wet seasons. The nearest neighbors of the new plantation were Groton and Marlborough. To the north and west lay almost unbroken wilderness. Small wonder, then, that settlement proceeded slowly!

In 1647, only three permanent settlers, with their families, were living near the trucking house. These were Lawrence Waters, Richard Linton, and John Prescott. By 1653, these three families had been joined by six more, among whom were Thomas Sawyer, Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, and Ralph Houghton. They petitioned the General Court in 1653 to be incorporated as a town under the name of Lancaster, but their petition was not granted.

During the next year many new families were added, and again the General Court was petitioned to grant the district full powers as a town, as there were then twenty families in the plantation. Among these twenty families were several whose sons or grandsons, eighty years later, founded the town of Bolton, — John Houghton, John Whitcomb, Stephen Gates, John Moore, and Thomas Sawyer.

One of the orders of the court incorporating the town was “that Sudbury and Lancaster lay out highways betwixt town and town.” A road was laid through what is now Bolton; while it was called a highway, it was doubtless the roughest kind of cart-path, possibly only a bridle-path.

Another order was “that the inhabitants of Lancaster do take care that a godly minister may be maintained amongst them.” Accordingly, the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson was settled as the first minister. He was a proprietor by the conditions of the grant, owning considerable land, and was by virtue of his office one of the town’s most important citizens.

Although the town had been incorporated, there were so few “freemen” that in 1657 the General Court appointed a commission of three men to order the affairs of the town. Members of the church were the only ones allowed to vote



THE EARLIEST MAP OF BOLTON, 1794

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. First Parish Meeting House | 5. Lime kiln |
| 2. Quaker Meeting House | 6. Fulling mill |
| 3. Saw mill | 7. Saw mill and grist mill |
| 4. Grist mill | 8. Potash works |

The reversed inscription at the top of the map reads: "A Plan of the Town of Bolton . . . the Centre of which Town lyeth about eighteen Miles from the shire Town of the County, and Thirty four Miles from Boston. . . . Surveyed in October and November Anno Domini 1794 — Silas Holman Nathl Longley, Junr."

the garrison on fire. The Indians shot and scalped the men, but about twenty women and children were taken captive, to be held for ransom. These unfortunate captives, without any sort of warm clothing, some of them wounded, were then marched by the savages through the snow and cold of a New England February. They had no food for days and no shelter at night. The wounded died, and some of the weaker ones were mercilessly dispatched by the Indians. Mrs. Rowlandson in her "Removes" tells of carrying in her arms her six-year-old daughter who had been wounded. After a week the child died and the poor mother was thankful that her child's sufferings were ended. After almost three months of wandering through the wilderness, some of the captives, Mrs. Rowlandson among them, were ransomed by John Hoar, a lawyer of Concord. As the savages had burned every house in Lancaster, the few survivors abandoned the settlement. For a few years the town was without a white inhabitant.

In October, 1679, the Middlesex County Court appointed a committee to renew the settlement. A new meetinghouse was built in 1684 or 1685, and some of the former settlers returned. After the resettlement of the town, many attacks were made by the savages and a number of persons murdered or taken captive. These attacks were usually on isolated homes to capture the women and children for ransom, or sometimes for reasons of private revenge.

The growth of Lancaster had proceeded so far by 1730 that several sections wished to break away and set up towns by themselves. Numerous petitions for this purpose were presented at town meetings. In 1732, one of these petitions was granted to the people of the northeasterly part of the town, and Harvard was founded,

In the next year, 1733, the inhabitants of the southeasterly part of Lancaster sent a petition to the town asking consent to set up a new township. The signers were Joshua Moore, Jabez Fairbank, Jonathan Moore, William Keyes, John Whitney, Jeremiah Holman, Nathaniel Holman, Thomas Whitney, and William Sawyer, and the petition read as follows :

Setting forth the many hardships and difficulties which we for these many years have undergone in getting to the public worship of God and in a peculiar manner in the winter season. These are therefore to request of you that you put it into your next warrant to see whether the town will set off all the inhabitants on the east side of the river to be a separate town or precinct, beginning at the Shrewsbury line and so down said river till you come to the Harvard line, excepting the intervale lots of land on the east side of said river.

Unsuccessful the first time, the signers presented their petition again in March, 1735. This time it was granted. An act to incorporate the town of Bolton was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts on June 24, 1738. The act of incorporation is as follows :

An act dividing the Town of Lancaster, in the County of Worcester, and erecting a new town there, by the name of Bolton.

Whereas the southeasterly part of the town of Lancaster is competently fill'd with inhabitants, who labor under great difficulties by reason they live very remote from the place of publick worship in said town; and having addressed this court that they may be set off as a distinct township, whereunto the inhabitants of said town, by their vote have manifested their consent, —

Be it therefore enacted by His Excellency the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,

Section 1: That the easterly part of the town of Lancaster be and hereby is set off from said town of Lancaster, and erected into a separate and distinct township by the name of Bolton, according to the following boundaries; viz., northeasterly upon Harvard, easterly upon Stow, southeasterly upon Marlborough, southerly upon Westborough, and westerly upon Lancaster, by a line running near a south and north point, paral[l]el with the west line of said township of Lancaster, at four miles distance therefrom, agre[e]able to a vote of the said town, pass'd the first day of March, 1735.

Section 2: And that the inhabitants thereof be and hereby are vested with all those powers, priviledges, [and] immunities that the inhabitants of other towns within the province are or ought to be vested with.

Section 3: Provided that the s[ai]d town of Bolton be liable and subject to the payment of their proportionable part of the town of Lancaster's province and county tax for the present year, as tho[ough] they were not by this act separated from them.

There has always been much conjecture about the naming of Bolton. In earliest days towns chose their own names, often taking that of the English town from whence the settlers had come. After 1725, the Colonial Governor usually inserted a name for the town when he approved and signed the Act of Incorporation. It was customary to compliment men in England who were friendly to the colonies, or to use the name of a particular friend of the Governor.

Governor Belcher chose the name "Bolton" in honor of Charles Powlett, third Duke of Bolton. The city of Bolton, England, where the dukedom originated, is in Lancashire County. Several of the early families who settled in Lancaster came to Massachusetts from that county, a fact which may have influenced Governor Belcher in his choice.

II

GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The hills,
Rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

AN early traveller recorded his conception of the town in this description (Whitney's *History of Worcester County*, published in 1793):

The town in general is good land, not level, nor yet has it any very high hills. . . . It is not very rocky, however there are stones sufficient to wall in all their farms. The people raise rye, wheat, Indian corn, barley, oats, flax upon their lands. . . . About half a mile from the center of the town, to the west, begins the great hill known by the name of Wattoquottock Hill, very high; . . . On the westerly side of this hill, about half way from its foot to the summit, is a cavity opening to the southwest parallel with the main course of the hill, near the upper end of which is a pool, or small pond of water, known by the name of Welch Pond. This pond is of a circular form about twenty feet in depth, and occupies the space of about one acre. . . . It is supposed to have diminished about one half in depth and circumference within forty years past. People now mow considerable grass, where they went with boats and canoes half a century ago. On the southeasterly side of the hill nearly opposite to Welch Pond, issue a number of rivulets, which soon unite in the lowlands and form a considerable brook, taking a southeasterly course till it falls into the Assabet River, in the northerly part of Marlboro. This brook has water sufficient to carry two mills, in the wet season of the year, at a distance of less than one mile from the hill. . . .

At a small distance from the foot of Wattoquottock begins another large hill with a gradual ascent, which extends northeasterly through Harvard. By some this is called Bear Hill and by others Oak Hill. This hill is thought to contain mines and minerals and has, consequently, for a number of years engaged the attention of a respectable society of minesearchers; but their expectations have exceeded their gains; for though its bowels have been explored with much painful labor and sanguine hope, yet the mountain has not even to this day brought forth a mouse. At the intersection between this last mentioned hill and Wattoquottock Hill is a narrow bar of hard land, . . . on each side of this bar is a small piece of low sunken boggy ground in which arise several springs soon forming a rivulet each way. That on the northwesterly side runs a northerly course about a mile and a half into a continued increase of waters and empties into Still River, that on the other side forms a brook which flows through the center of the town.

The valley of the Nashua River, known as the intervale, which lies on the line between Lancaster and Bolton, is like the valley of the Connecticut in miniature, dotted with trees of various kinds, and in summer covered with all the products of the farmer in rich abundance. In former times the entire surface of the intervale was covered by the annual freshets of spring and fall. By degrees, the intervale lands have been raised by yearly deposits.

The map which accompanies Whitney's *History of Worcester County* records the existence of a large body of water which reached from Still River almost to the Old Common. It was called Long Lake or the Long Pond, the upper or southern end of which was styled in ancient records the Swan's Swamp. In early times, the road from Lancaster to Bolton crossed the swamp on a causeway which has now sunk out of sight. The land has been raised and is now cultivated.

There are two ponds in Bolton, West Pond and Little Pond. West Pond was so called because a West family, in early days, lived on its shores. Little Pond has had two other names. Up to 1790, it bore the original name of "Keys' Pond." On the 1831 map it is called "South Pond," and sometime later it became known as "Little Pond" although it is only half an acre smaller than West Pond.

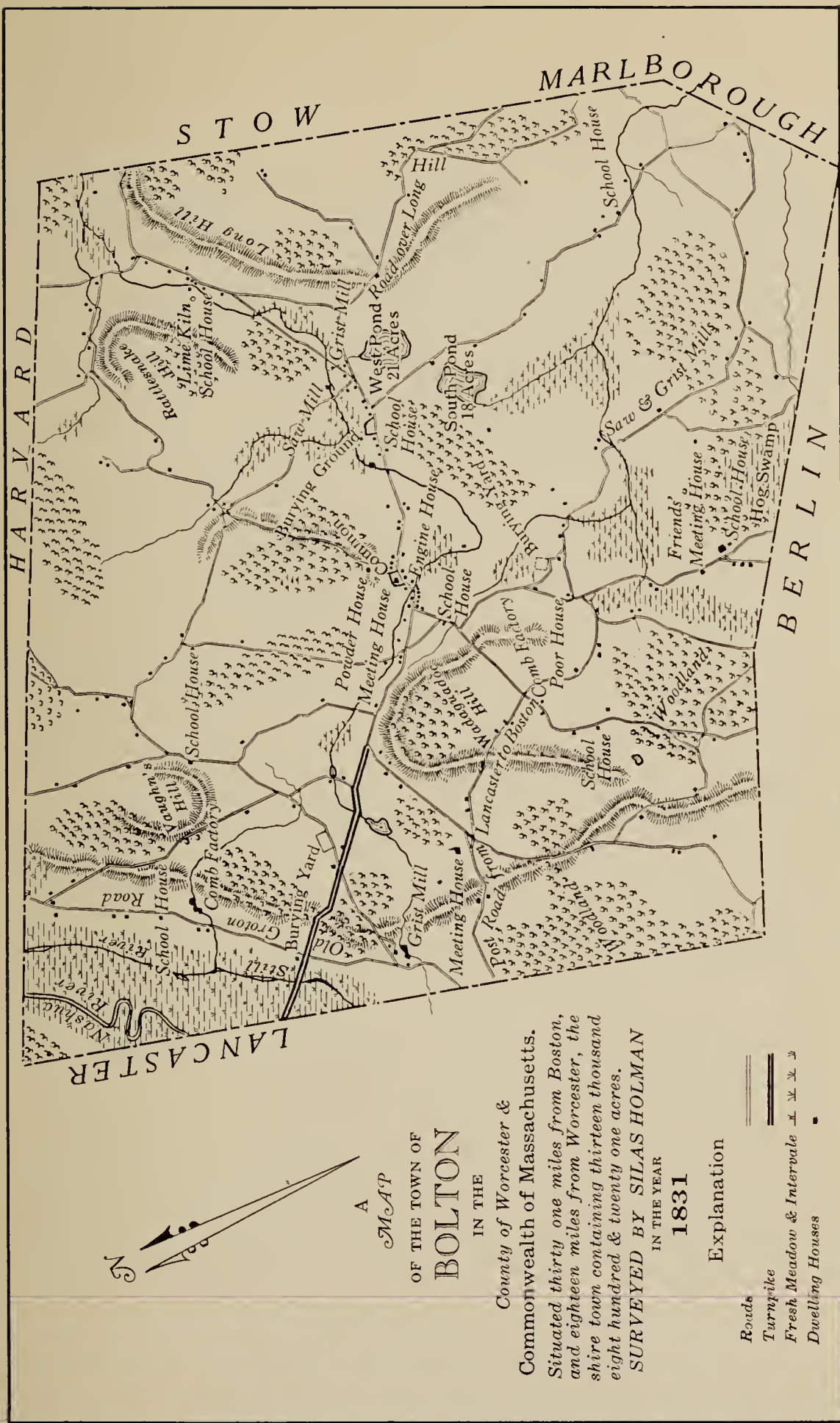
Several sections of Bolton have for years been designated by names which often amuse strangers. Hog Swamp, a locality near the Hudson-Berlin line, is mentioned before 1700 in Lancaster records of roads. The Pan has a story to account for its unusual name. Tradition says that in early days only one warming pan (some say frying pan) was available in the neighborhood. Whenever necessity arose, this pan was lent from one household to another, thus giving the district its name. The Green, in the northerly part of the Town, received its name from "Fiddler's Green," in front of the old tavern, where, on summer evenings, dances were held.

The story of Sugar Street is interesting. There lived on that stretch of road at one time a man of poor reputation. One day when he was at the village store he saw some loaf sugar, the old-fashioned kind, in large loaves of conical shape. He watched his chance and stole one, which he concealed by putting it on the top of his head and covering it with his stovepipe hat. After he left for home the storekeeper missed the sugar. Putting two and two together, he went to the man's house and somehow secured a confession from him. The story became known, and from then on the road was called Sugar Street.

The name Wataquadock is derived from an Indian word

meaning "the place of many springs." The Bay Path went over Wataquadock Hill, which was the region of the earliest settlement in Bolton. Many springs and brooks were to be found there, and also many open clearings which were eagerly taken up by the settlers for cultivation. Some of the finest orchards in this region are now situated on Wataquadock Hill.

Starting at the northeast foot of Wataquadock Hill is another hill somewhat lower, which is now called Vaughan's Hill. While this hill is rockier than Wataquadock, few minerals have been found there. The only hill having a great quantity of minerals is Rattlesnake Hill, in the northeast part of the town, near the Stow line. On this hill is located the lime quarry which was operated in the early 1700's, and which has recently been reopened. In earlier times, an ochre mine was established here. Bolton has about thirty different minerals, all of which may be found on Rattlesnake Hill. The most unusual of these is Boltonite, which is found in only two widely-separated places, Bolton and Mount Vesuvius.





THE 1870 MAP OF BOLTON

This is a facsimile of the original map, reduced to half the original size. It is a part of a larger map of the district, hence the title mentions Berlin. The scale of miles given beneath the title is that of the original map. A comparison with the 1794 and 1831 maps reveals an interesting development of population and roads. Fiddler's Green is shown at top center; the Pan, right center; Wataquaddock Hill, left center; Ballville, lower left; and Fryville, lower center.

III

TOWN RECORDS

Let the Work of our Fathers Stand.

SEAL OF FIRST PARISH IN HINGHAM

1738

(The First Town Meeting.)

“Bolton, August 14, 1738.

“The inhabitants of said town being mett at the house of Mr. Thomas Sawyer made choice of James Keyes to be their Moderator.

1. Jacob Houghton was chosen Town Clerk & sworn.
2. They voted to chuse five selectmen.
3. They chose, Jacob Houghton, James Keyes, Henry Houghton, John Priest & Capt. Jonas Houghton, Selectmen.
4. They chose David Whitcomb Constable and he was sworn.
5. They chose Josiah Richardson and William Keyes, Survairs of Highways and they were sworn.

James Keyes, Moderator
per order Jacob Houghton, Clerk.”

1739

At a meeting held March 20, 1739, it was voted to “make a highway rate of fifty pounds and allow five shillings daily, for mans labor till Sept. 10th next, two shillings six pence for oxen, and one shilling for a cart”; from that date to the end of that year, the rate was to be, daily, for a man, three shillings; and for a team and cart, wages in same proportion.

Town officers were chosen at this meeting, and additional offices of tything-man, fence viewers, and hog reeves were filled.

In October 1739, a committee was chosen to furnish the town with a pound, a pair of stocks, a supply of ammunition and weights and measures, according to law. This pound was located near where the Country Manor now stands, and was owned by the town until 1898, when it was sold.

1740

March, 1740, Josiah Richardson was chosen Town Treasurer. Two constables to serve at different ends of the town, and a sealer of weights and measures were also chosen. Jonathan Houghton and Daniel Bruce were appointed to prosecute for the killing of deer.

1741

March, 1741, the town voted to grant the three assessors ten shillings daily for taking the valuation. Several highways were laid out during the following two years.

1745

April 1, 1745, the town line between Bolton and Marlborough was perambulated. Mr. John Whitcomb was elected to represent the town at the "Great and General Court," and served in that capacity many years.

1753

About 1753, many families deemed undesirable came into town and they were given warning to depart "or suffer penalties of the law." Officers appointed about this time were: surveyor of hoops and staves; sealer of leather; surveyor of shingles and clapboards; and five highway surveyors to serve different parts of town.

John Houghton was chosen "to clear the streams that the fish may come up." The offices of fish reeve, deer reeve, and fire warden were then established. Many of the roads were on private land and gradually the town made these into public ways. Most of the taxes were worked out on the roads.

1754

Several men from Bolton were enlisted in companies to fight the Indians. John Whitcomb, Charles Holman, and Timothy Houghton were in a regiment stationed on the eastern frontier.

1755

John Whitcomb of Bolton took a company on the expedition against Crown Point. Bolton men participated in the battle of Lake George on September 8, 1755.

1756

A family of Acadian refugees came to Bolton in this year, as related in Chapter IV, and the town was paid by the authorities to maintain this family from 1756 to 1760.

War was declared between France and England in May, and Captain Timothy Houghton mustered a company from Bolton to serve in certain campaigns. Captain Asa Whitcomb of Lancaster also led a company of 98 men, 26 from Bolton.

1762

As early as 1762, we find in the town records an article "To see if the Town will agree to Build or procure a work house and purchase materials to sett such poor to work as have not employ, and to choose some meet persons to inspect and govern the same and to grant money Therefor." It was voted that "the old School House by the meeting house Be Devoted to the use of a work house During the Town's

Pleasure.” Apparently this plan was unsatisfactory, for a few years later the records show that different inhabitants of the town were being paid to care for the poor, also an unsatisfactory arrangement.

A farm with buildings was purchased in 1836, to be used for a Poor Farm. Money was borrowed for the purpose, which later was repaid with the first money received from the State Treasurer as the town’s share of surplus revenue. Later more land was purchased from Stephen P. Southwick and John Kimmens. The Poor Farm remained the property of the town until 1903, when it was sold. It has recently been torn down.

In 1909, Francis E. Whitcomb left a legacy of five thousand dollars to be known as the Francis E. Whitcomb Benevolent Fund, the income of which was to be used annually for the comfort and relief of the town’s worthy poor and sick not in the almshouse.

1770

At a town meeting held on May twenty-first, the town voted to abstain from the use of tea and other British goods.

1773

A committee of correspondence was chosen to join with the committees in the other towns.

1774

Samuel Baker was chosen representative to the General Court to be held at Salem.

1775

The town voted to purchase ten guns for the use of those unable to buy their own.

Three companies marched from Bolton to Lexington numbering one hundred and twenty-seven men in all. The

records of the town from 1775 to the end of the War are filled with military matters, all of which may be found in the chapter on military history.

1778

In 1778, the inhabitants of the southwest part of Bolton petitioned the General Court to be set off as a separate parish because of the inconvenience of attending church in the center. This petition was granted on April 13, 1778. The parish, however, continued to be a part of Bolton until 1784, when it was incorporated as a district, called Berlin. In 1812, the district was made a town.

1779

Beginning with the year 1779, warrants for town meetings were posted on the meetinghouse, instead of being served by a constable.

1791

A committee was chosen to survey the center of the town. Its members were Silas Holman, Nathaniel Longley, Silas Whitcomb, and James Townsend.

1794

January 23, 1794, Bolton, with other towns, petitioned the General Court for the establishment of a new county, at Worcester. On October 6, 1794, a committee was chosen to provide an accurate plan of Bolton. This plan was accepted on April 11, 1795, and cost £8/4/6.

1812

In 1812, the town provided a singing school for one month after the town schools closed for the winter, and fifty dollars was allowed. The office of inspector of lime was created, and Jonathan Whitcomb was appointed.

About 1812, the Powder House was built. It is a most interesting historic relic, situated on a rocky eminence overlooking the town, and commanding a fine view of the country for miles around. It is constructed of brick and originally had shelves for the storage of ammunition and powder. Always it was kept securely locked. It has several times been repaired. Of the ground surrounding it, four acres were generously deeded to the town in 1916 by George B. Newton for a public park, and several years later his sister, Miss Fidelia C. Newton, gave another acre, so that the park should extend to the common. The gift was accepted by the town, and the property has been improved. The Powder House appears on the Town Seal.

1824

On September second, Lafayette, guarded by the militia, spent the night in Bolton as the guest of Mr. S. V. S. Wilder.

1830

A committee composed of Joel Barnard, Joseph Sawyer, and Stephen Gardner was chosen to provide a spot and see that an engine house was built. This was on land which is now Pond Park. Poll taxes were abated on each person who faithfully performed his duty to the engine company.

Stephen P. Gardner, Amory Holman, and Thomas Fry were appointed a committee to survey and draw a plan of the town, "agreeable to the late resolve of the Legislature," and to provide one for the state and one for the town. This is the 1831 map, which shows all the houses with names of the owners.

1831

April 4, 1831, Silas Holman, Stephen P. Gardner, Amory Holman, Joseph Sawyer, Caleb Wheeler, Jonathan Jewett,

and Barnard Nurse were appointed a committee to superintend the building of a "Town House" somewhat in the style of that of Northborough. The site was chosen on the Common, not far from the meetinghouse. Captain Joel Barnard drew plans for the building, which was completed in 1834 at a total cost of \$1371.47. Town meeting was held in the Town House for the first time on November 10, 1834. Seventeen years later, during the night of January 14, 1852, the building was burned. Fortunately, it was insured, but for only \$900. At a special town meeting, plans were immediately made to rebuild, and a committee of nine was chosen. The new structure was of brick, and was built on the old location, fifteen feet nearer the road.

In 1914, the Town House was remodeled and an addition made at a cost of \$3600. In 1916, Edward D. Emerson and the heirs of the late Frederick L. Felton generously contributed funds for the building of a porch with columns, which added much to its appearance.

1858

Dogs were first registered and taxed in 1858.

1864

In 1864, the town purchased the Baptist Meetinghouse for use as "No 1" school, and granted the Baptist Society the use of the Town House until their new church building was completed. This building is now the Fire House.

1865

On November 7, 1865, a petition of Daniel Stratton and others, to form a new town called Hudson, was sent to the Senate and House of Representatives. This petition, when brought before the town, met with much opposition, as the

total valuation of property in that part was \$100,280 in real estate and \$18,925 in personal property, and the population was 453, nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the town of Bolton.

A committee was appointed to secure legal advice. Everything possible was done to prevent this petition being granted, and nearly \$1600 was spent. However, on March 20, 1868, a bill was signed by the Governor, whereby about two square miles of territory in the southeast part of the town was annexed to Hudson. The town of Bolton received \$10,000 from the new town of Hudson, and applied the money on town debts incurred for war expenses. The area thus lost to Bolton included thirteen or fourteen houses, one store, a grist mill, a sawmill, a cloth dressing establishment, a cotton factory, and a school house.

1870

In May, 1870, the town accepted a legacy of two hundred dollars, left by the will of Benjamin W. A. Barry, the income of which was to be used for care of his lot in the Pan Cemetery. This was the first fund established for such a purpose. There are now fifty-four funds, totaling over \$9000.

1872

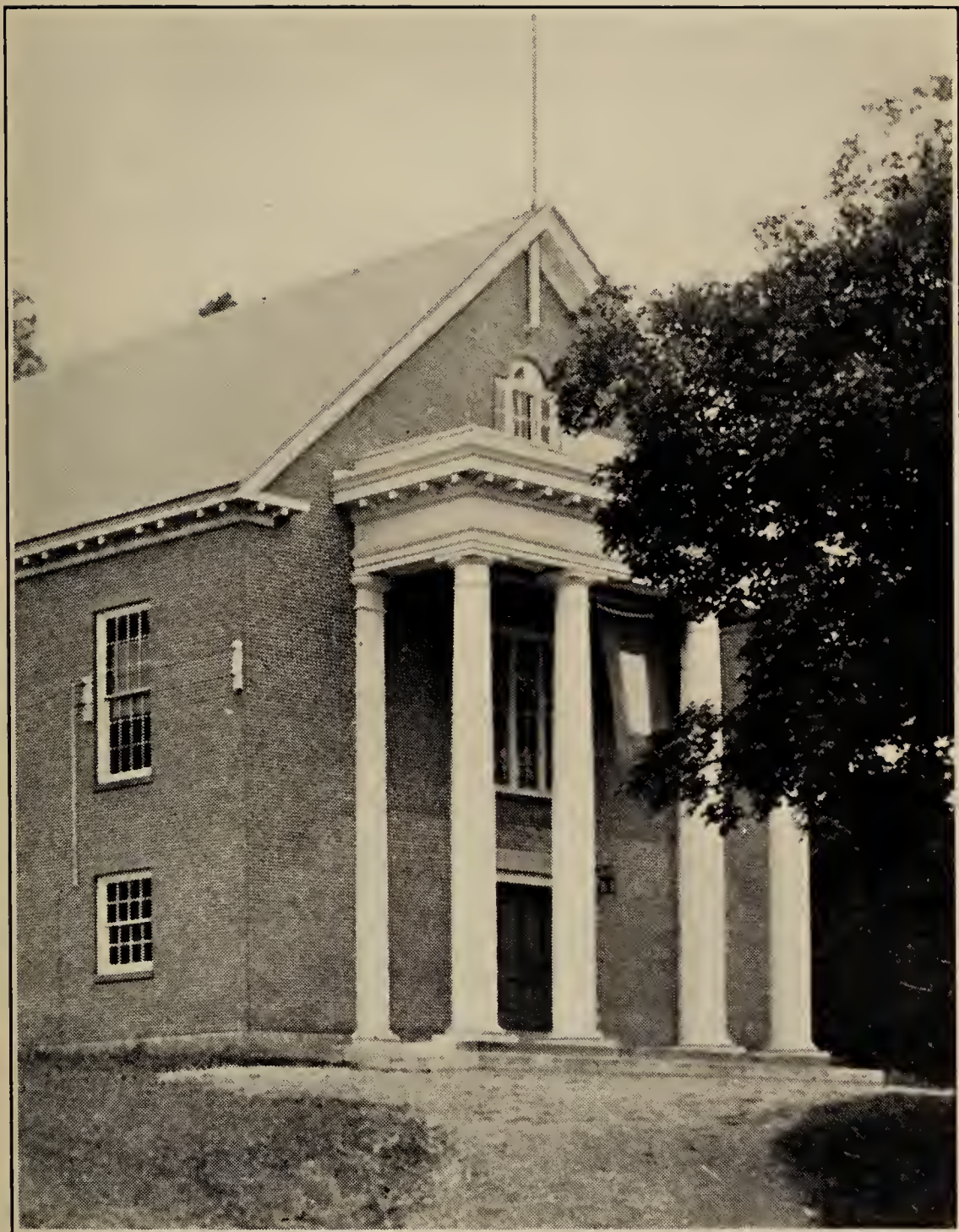
On February 17, 1872, the ground was first broken for the Lancaster Railroad, near "South Woods" road in South Lancaster, and near "Tadmores," so called, in Bolton.

1873

In 1873, fishing was prohibited in West and Little ponds for a period of five years, and the ponds were stocked with fish.

1875

On April 10, 1875, C. C. Moore, because of illness, resigned the office of Town Treasurer, having held the position for



THE BOLTON TOWN HOUSE



THE BOLTON QUICKSTEP

Engine 1 is one of the oldest in the country, dating back to 1813.



THE OLD HOOK AND LADDER

This, like the Quickstep, is a hand-drawn vehicle, but a later model.

thirty-five years. "The town voted unanimously by a standing vote to thank Mr. Moore for his long and eminently faithful services."

1876

A celebration was held by the town on July 4, 1876, to mark the hundredth year of the Declaration of Independence. Doctor Richard S. Edes delivered an historical address, which was later printed.

1878

Free use of land back of the Town House was granted for twenty-five years to the Farmers and Mechanics Club, for the purpose of erecting a hall. This hall is now used by the American Legion Post and other organizations.

A "tramp house" was built on town land near the poor farm, in 1878, and was used to lodge tramps over night.

1887

An engine house was built near "No. 1" schoolhouse for the hook-and-ladder, and later was used to store tools when the building was converted into the present engine house.

1900

The Town Seal was accepted in 1900, having for a center a sketch of the Powder House.

1901

In 1901, the town was bequeathed \$10,000 by the Misses Emma and Anna E. Whitney for a public library building in memory of their father, Captain Joseph Whitney.

1904

The telephone was introduced in Bolton in 1904, installed first by private parties and later sold to the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company.

1913

Electric lights were made available in 1913.

1919

In 1919, by vote of the citizens, a large, suitably framed and inscribed photograph of David O. N. Edes was placed in the library. Six years later, a memorial of field stone with a bronze tablet bearing the names of the boys in World War service, with that of D. O. N. Edes leading, was placed on the library grounds, the expense of about \$250 being defrayed from the soldier's bonus returned by the state. An unexpended balance of funds was paid to the D. O. N. Edes Post, and used by them in altering the Farmers and Mechanics building to be used as quarters for themselves and for other organizations. Each year since then, the town has made the Post an appropriation of fifty dollars or more for its work and maintenance.

1920

A start was made in 1920, to alter the bylaws of the town, and much action taken which was later repealed. It was not until 1937 that satisfactory bylaws were passed and approved by the Attorney General.

1926

The town purchased a combined road-scraper, scarifier, and roller.

1928

The Fish and Game Association of Clinton acquired control of a small brook near the Bolton and Clinton boundary and formed two ponds suitable for the culture of fish, thus starting a new and interesting enterprise in Bolton. In these ponds are placed small fish, purchased from the state

hatcheries, — trout in one, and pond fish in the other. When they have reached a suitable size, they are taken out and distributed locally, and the process repeated.

In 1928 the town purchased at an expense of \$1186.96, a clock which was placed in the First Parish Church tower, the Church agreeing with the town that the clock should remain the property of Bolton inhabitants, and its agents have safe and convenient access thereto, for maintenance and repair.

1929

July, 1929, the town appropriated fifty dollars for the privilege of bathing accommodations at Little Pond.

1930

October 27, 1930, the town voted to organize a fire department, and purchase a siren.

1931

On February 1, 1931, "The Nashoba Board of Health" was formed, by the voluntary grouping of fourteen small towns for the maintenance of public health, according to modern sanitation, without excessive cost. "The Commonwealth Fund" of New York very generously agreed to bear all cost of establishing the unit and maintaining it during the probationary years. In Nashoba work, special attention is given to the inspection of retail milk farms and milk supplies, roadside stands, private water supplies, and private sewerage facilities.

The Nashoba Laboratory is at the Community Memorial Hospital in Ayer, where much free work is done for the public, such as skin tests, diagnostic clinics, and X-Rays. A Public Health Nurse carries out the Nashoba program in each town.

The fire house was remodeled in 1931, at a cost of \$1600.

1935 *

As a W. P. A. project, seven waterholes were made at considerable expense in different parts of the town, thereby greatly lessening the fire hazard, and beautifying adjacent territory.

TOWN CLERKS

1738-1740	Jacob Houghton	1789-1794	Silas Holman
1741-1742	Daniel Greenleaf	1795-1796	Nath ^l Longley
1743-1745	James Keyes	1797-1816	Stephen P. Gardner
1746-1749	Caleb Richardson	1817-1828	Nath ^l Longley, Jr.
1750-1752	Nath ^l Holman	1829-1836	Joseph Sawyer
1753	Caleb Richardson	1837-1841	Amory Holman
1754-1757	William Sawyer	1842-1846	Humphrey Barrett
1758-1761	Nath ^l Holman	1847-1852	Abraham Holman
1762-1767	Captain Samuel Baker	1853-1876	Richard C. Edes
1768-1769	Samuel Moor	1877-1880	James D. Hurlbut
1770-1780	Nath ^l Longley	1881	Francis C. Edes
1781	Jonathan Meriam	1882-1884	Reverend C. A. Roys
1782-1788	Nath ^l Longley	1885-1910	Amory S. Haynes
		1911-	Frank A. Powers

TOWN TREASURERS

1739-1740	Josiah Richardson	1770	Samuel Snow
1741-1742	David Whitcomb	1771-1772	John Moor
1743-1745	Captain Benjamin Atherton	1773-1777	Abram Holman
1746	William Pollard	1778-1780	Calvin Greenleaf
1747	Nath ^l Willson	1781-1782	Nath ^l Longley
1748	Abraham Moor	1783-1784	Abraham Moor
1749-1754	William Sawyer	1785-1790	Micah Bush
1755-1756	William Wilder	1791-1793	Abraham Moor
1757	Abraham Moor	1794-1809	Oliver Barrett
1758-1763	Samuel Baker	1810-1820	Stephen P. Gardner
1764-1769	Nath ^l Longley	1821-1825	Caleb Moore
		1826-1836	Alpheus Moore

* The records of the town since 1935 are so easily available that it seemed unnecessary to carry them further here.

TOWN TREASURERS — *Continued*

1837	Joseph Sawyer	1886-1887	James D. Hurlbut
1838-1854	Christopher C. Moore	1888-1896	Aaron R. Powers
1855	George F. Rice	1897-1914	George E. Dow
1856-1875	C. C. Moore	1915-1916	Franklin J. Hamlin
1875	Roswell Barrett	1917-1919	Rufus H. Randall
1882-1884	Joel Proctor	1920-1923	Lewis C. Downs
1885	Roswell Barrett	1923-	Mary E. Sprague

1938 TOWN OFFICERS

<i>Moderator</i>	<i>Trustees Francis E. Whitcomb Fund</i>
Henry C. Whitcomb	Rufus Randall
<i>Town Clerk</i>	Susan L. Dow
Frank A. Powers	Mary E. Sprague
<i>Treasurer</i>	<i>Cemetery Committee</i>
Mary E. Sprague	John C. Powers
<i>Tax Collector</i>	Herbert E. Wheeler
Laura B. Kimball	Reuben E. Randall
<i>Selectmen</i>	<i>Tree Warden</i>
John H. Gustafson	Charles O. Hamilton
Perley B. Sawyer	<i>Fence Viewers</i>
Leslie L. Babcock	Heman D. Kittredge
<i>School Committee</i>	Edward C. Ware
C. Roy Clemens	Herbert E. Wheeler
Richard Wheeler	<i>Constables</i>
Miriam Edes	Prino Bonazzoli
<i>Assessors</i>	Alfred W. Dow
John Hopkins	George O. Hines
Charles Day	Grover C. Quimby
Rufus Randall	Richard M. Wheeler
<i>Library Trustees</i>	<i>Field Drivers</i>
Alfred W. Dow	William F. Laws
Mrs. Amos Wheeler	Ralph A. Soli
Thomas T. Pond	Elliot E. Rowe
<i>Public Welfare</i>	<i>Auditor</i>
Michael H. Butler	Philip N. Dow
Mary P. Howe	
Darwin Kittredge	

IV

EARLY MILITARY HISTORY

And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.

MATTHEW 24 : 6

FOR nearly twenty-five years after the first settlement of Lancaster, our forefathers were too much occupied with wresting a bare existence from the wilderness to think much about wars or the rumors of wars. But they could not long forget that they were living on the New England frontier. While the coast towns were comparatively safe, the outposts of settlement for the next hundred years were in danger of sporadic Indian raids. In general, however, the early settlers of Bolton had friendly dealings with neighboring Indian tribes, and the outbreak of King Philip's War was a surprise to them.

The war with King Philip began in June, 1675, and in August occurred the raid upon Brookfield which has already been described in the first chapter of this history. In 1676, the Indians attacked Lancaster and at the same time besieged the garrison house of Richard Wheeler on Wataquadock Hill. After King Philip's War ended, southern New England was free from Indian wars at home, though the frontier towns were never safe from occasional raids.

Lovewell's War was the next episode in the French and Indian Wars in which men from Bolton had a part. The Indians in the territory that is now Maine were instigated

by the French to commence a long series of raids. After many settlements had been sacked, the English sent out two expeditions which penetrated into the region of the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers and broke the power of the Indians. Lovewell's chief fight took place near Fryeburg, Maine, in 1725. Jabez Fairbank, a man who was later prominent in Bolton, became a captain under Lovewell. There were doubtless many others from the district in his company, but their names have not come down to us.

In 1745, the colony of Massachusetts equipped an expedition to attack Louisbourg, a great fortress which was the stronghold of the French in America. Louisbourg was the Gibraltar of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and provided a base for raids upon New England ships and fishing boats. A force of nearly four thousand men, commanded by Colonel William Pepperell, set sail in a fleet of armed vessels and was joined by ten English warships. The combined forces began the siege on April 30, 1745, and on June 17th the fortress surrendered after a prolonged bombardment. Bolton men fought at the siege of Louisbourg.

In 1748, following an Indian raid upon Ashby, Captain Ephraim Wilder, Jr., of Lancaster, set out with a company of men to pursue the savages who had attacked the town. The Bolton men with this company were Lieutenant John Whitcomb, Corporal Joshua Moore, Corporal Jabez Fairbank, Israel Whitcomb, Eleazar Whitcomb, Oliver Pollard, William Sawyer, Samuel Moor, Jonas Whitcomb, Paul Gates, and Hezekiah Gibbs. During the following years, the settlements were never safe from French and Indian raids, and the names Gates, Houghton, Priest, Wheeler, Whitcomb, Whitney, Wilder, and others common to Bolton appear again and again on the military rolls.

The mask of peace was dropped in the colonies by the year 1754, although war between France and England was not formally declared until two years later. Colonel John Winslow was stationed on the eastern frontier with a regiment, and we find at least three Bolton names in the companies — Sergeant John Whitcomb, Charles Holman, and Timothy Houghton. The next year, 1755, Samuel Willard was authorized to raise a regiment of eight hundred men for an expedition against Crown Point, an important fortress on Lake Champlain. John Whitcomb of Bolton was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel, and Timothy Houghton, Adjutant. In this company were the following men from Bolton: Gabriel Priest, Nathaniel Longley, John Whitcomb, Jr., Francis McFadden, James Townsend, Eleazar Whitcomb, Abram Holman, and Josiah Priest. In Captain Samuel Hunt's company were Silvanus Sawyer, drummer, and Francis Fullam, both of Bolton. In Captain Joseph Whitcomb's company were four from Bolton: Ensign Benjamin Hastings, Sergeant Dennis Lockling, Sergeant John Barnard, and Benjamin Marble, all of whom were in the bloody battle of Lake George, which took place on September 8, 1755. In Captain Asa Whitcomb's company the only Bolton man listed is Charles Holman, who was killed in the battle of Lake George.

Everyone has read the beautiful story of "Evangeline," but it is probable that few realize how closely the sad tale of ravaged Acadia is related to the history of Bolton.

Acadia, a district in what is now Nova Scotia, was a bone of contention in the wars between France and England. Although the district was ceded to England under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the population was wholly French. The English suspected the loyalty of the Acadians,

'O the Province of the Massachusetts Bay
to the Town of Bolton, D^r —————

To the maintenance of four french persons
from the 1st Day of June 1746 to the 10th of
December following Being twenty seven weeks } ^{lawfull}
and five Days at 10^s 6^d pr week } ^{money} £14-15-6

To the Doctors Bill ————— £1-4-8

To Nursing the french woman
in her Sickness ————— 0-11-4

Errors Excepted

£16-12-6

Bolton December 10th 1746

Barnabas Bailey } Select
Oliver Barrett } men of
William Wilder } Bolton
Ephraim Trainor }
Nath^l Longley

per week

and decided to deport them. Opinions will always differ as to the necessity of driving these people from their homes. It is exceedingly doubtful whether an agricultural people, who understood nothing of the war, could ever have been a real menace.

However, as soon as General Braddock arrived from England, in 1755, General Winslow of Massachusetts was ordered to go by ship to the Bay of Fundy and deport the inhabitants of Acadia. All the Acadians who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to King George were assembled in their parish churches, where they listened to the reading of the harsh orders. Guarded by soldiers, they were placed on board the ships waiting to take them from their homes. As they sailed out of the harbor in the twilight, the helpless captives saw the sky lighted by a terrible glare, caused by the burning of their homes. The actual burning of the buildings was done by the Lancaster soldiers, under Captain Abijah Willard, who had received sealed orders which were opened after the departure of the inhabitants. One Bolton man, Jonas Moore, was in Captain Willard's company.

While most of the Acadian refugees went to the Isle St. Jean, which is now Prince Edward Island, or to New Orleans, a good number came to Boston. Upon their arrival, they were apportioned out to the towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Bolton was required to provide for a family of four, a man and his wife and two children. The Province of Massachusetts Bay paid the town of Bolton for the maintenance of this family. The first bill on record is dated January 2, 1756, and the last, June 2, 1760. On the sixth of June, 1760, these unfortunate people were again divided, and three of the family which Bolton had in charge were sent to Harvard.

War was at last formally declared between France and Great Britain in May, 1756. The conflict in North America was a part of the European struggle known as the Seven Years' War, which involved practically all the great powers and resulted in the foundation of the British Empire. In America, the momentous question whether France or England was to dominate the continent was on the point of settlement.

As before, men of Bolton were enrolled in the various campaigns, some for a few months, some for the duration of the war. Enlistment in the army was different then from what it is now; a man might volunteer for an expedition or a special campaign and when the enterprise ended, his enlistment expired. That is why the same names appear again and again in the records.

At the beginning of the war, John Whitcomb of Bolton was appointed by the military council of Massachusetts to the committee in charge of transportation, stores, and provisions for the forces of the Province. As far as is known, he served on this committee throughout the war.

Captain Timothy Houghton of Bolton led a company of which the following men were from Bolton :

Sergeant Francis McFadden	John Whitcomb
Jonas Wilder	Robert Longley
Abraham Wilder	Samuel Nichols
James Carruth	Josiah Priest
Zacchariah Glazier	Richard Townsend
Marmaduke Jos. Hamilton	Levi Whitcomb
Silas Whitcomb	

Many other Bolton men fought in Massachusetts companies, but it is impossible to identify them positively. In the

regiment of Colonel Bayley, John Whitcomb was Lieutenant Colonel, and his brother, Captain Asa Whitcomb, of Lancaster, led a company of ninety-eight men, twenty-six of whom are credited to Bolton :

Benjamin Hastings, Lieut.	Jabez Bears
Stephen Greenleaf, Sergt.	Benoni Bigelow
John Wheeler	James Carruth
Josiah Priest, Drummer	David Goodale
Benjamin Bruce	Francis McFadden
Ephraim Brown	Amos Merriam
John Houghton	Joseph Pratt
Jotham Houghton	Richard Roberts
Joseph Hale	William Sawyer
Joseph Keys	Benjamin Townsend
Mathias Larkin	Josiah Woods
Isaac Brooks	Levi Whitcomb
Abraham Bruce	Aholiab Sawyer

The service of Captain Asa Whitcomb's company lasted from March to December, 1758.

At the battle of Ticonderoga in 1758, Captain Asa Whitcomb mustered another company. The entire regiment was detailed as rear guard at the sawmills near the fort, where it threw up earthworks which may be seen today. Four Bolton men were in this engagement at Ticonderoga: Hezekiah Gibbs, Joseph Hazletine, Jacob Gould, and Joseph Snow.

In March and April of the next year, 1759, many men of the Lancastrian towns were enrolled. A direct attack upon Quebec was planned, to be followed by an advance on Montreal. Enthusiasm ran high and most of the men previously enrolled re-enlisted in Colonel Oliver Wilder's regiment, Captain Aaron Willard's company. The Bolton men were :

Josiah Priest Age 23	John Pollard Age 29
Benj. Marble Age 32	Aholiab Sawyer, Jr. . . Age 17
Jonathan Holman . . Age 23	Jonas Pollard Age 25
Ephraim Ward Age 25	John Townsend Age 17
Josiah Pratt Age 59	Jonas Whitcomb Age 24
Joseph Pratt Age 32	Denis Lockling Age 39
John Wilder Age 17	Josiah Moore Age 32
Benoni Bigelow . . . Age 18	Edward Roach
John Wheeler Age 25	John Law

In Colonel Abijah Williard's regiment, Captain Benjamin Hastings' company, were these men from Bolton :

Captain Benjamin Hastings	Andrew McElwain
Corporal John Richardson	James Townsend
Ephraim Butler	David Whitcomb
Cyrus Houghton	Ezra Wilder
Francis McFadden	

The great campaign for the conquest of Canada was successful. In September, 1759, occurred the final conflict with its dramatic ending, the battle of Quebec on the Plains of Abraham. It was a turning point in American history : when Quebec fell, the long struggle was ended, and England had thenceforth no rival in America but Spain.

The men in the conquering army expected to return to their homes, but more than two months were spent in repairing fortifications and barracks. Finally the colonial regiments were released, and the men of Lancaster marched through the woods, across Vermont, and thence to Lancaster, arriving on December 1, 1759, amid great rejoicing.

The next few years were peaceful. Soldiers returned to their peacetime occupations, and the only warlike activity was the drilling of the militia on the village common. Each town in Worcester County had a company of militia, and

Bolton's captain was Samuel Baker, its lieutenant Oliver Barrett, and its ensign William Wilder. In 1767, a second militia company was organized in the town, but all militia was disbanded on order of the county convention seven years later, in 1774.

Some of the veterans of the French and Indian wars re-enlisted in the army, most of the New England men going to garrison the forts at Crown Point and Halifax. There were five Bolton men at Crown Point: Thomas Barney, Ephraim Butler, Joseph Pratt, Ezekiel Snow, and Josiah Wood.

V

THE REVOLUTION AND THE WAR OF 1812

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another. . . .

THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE story of events leading up to the Revolution is too well known to bear repeating. The numerous indignities heaped upon the Colonial soldiers during the various campaigns of the French and Indian War had rankled. The attitude of the British officers toward the Colonials was one of superiority and contempt. When the wars were over, the British government refused to pay the Colonial soldiers all the money due them, and in addition to this, many Colonial officers who had paid their men from their own pockets were never reimbursed.

The Stamp Act followed soon, and to many it seemed that loyalty to a King whose one idea was personal aggrandizement was no longer a virtue. James Otis in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia voiced the sentiment that was beginning to be felt in every backwoods hamlet. Liberty poles were raised in every village, and the town meeting, that most democratic of institutions, became the scene of fiery denunciation and determined protest.

The Loyalist side was represented by the ministry in nearly every town. In Bolton the famous Goss Controversy which shook the church to its foundations was doubtless aggravated by the fact that Mr. Goss was an

ardent Loyalist. The Goss Controversy is detailed in Chapter VII.

But it would seem that Bolton had almost no Tories or Loyalists except Reverend Mr. Goss, for at a town meeting held on May 21, 1770, the town voted "very unanimously" to "abstain from the use of tea and other British goods imported contrary to the agreement of the Merchants of the town of Boston." A committee composed of Caleb Richardson, Colonel John Whitcomb, Captain Samuel Nurss "prepared a suitable vote relative thereto." The vote was as follows :

At a legal meeting of the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Bolton on the 21st day of May, 1770, Taking into serious consideration the present unhappy situation of our publick affairs at this critical juncture of Times passed the following votes viz. That we highly approve of the conduct of the Merchants of the town of Boston Respecting the nonimportation of British Goods and that we will none of us on any pretence whatsoever purchase one single article (Except in cases of absolute necessity) of any merchant or trader that has Imported Goods contrary to the agreement of the merchants of the sd Town of Boston and that we shall Esteem such purchasers as Enemies to the country and not fit to be Employed in any Business of Importance — and that we will abstain from the use of all Foreign Teas ourselves and that we will not suffer it to be used in our families until the whole of the late Revenue acts are Repealed. —

And that we will use our utmost Indeavor to promote Industry, frugality and our own manufactures amongst ourselves, as judging it the most likely means to Save our country from slavery and to Leave a lasting Inheritance to our posterity.

Voted unanimously.

Although the town was mostly concerned with internal troubles with the church and Mr. Goss, it was soon reminded

of far-reaching disturbances in the "town of Boston." At a town meeting held January 4, 1773, a letter was read from Boston "Respecting an Infringement of some part of our Civil Rights and Privileges." In reply, the Representative was directed "to use his best Endeavor towards Constitutionally Redressing the same." The thanks of the town were also sent to the town of Boston "for their care and Seasonable notice."

On July 15, 1773, the town "chose a committee of correspondence of five persons to join the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Boston viz: Caleb Richardson, John Whitcomb, Esquire, Captain Sam'l Baker, Captain Samuel Nurss, and Mr. Joshua Johnson." At a town meeting on March 7, 1774, the same committee was again chosen "to consider and report upon an article lying in the warrant Touching infringement on our natural Charter Rights." This committee reported their findings on March twenty-first. The first two pages of a three-and-a-half page report are taken up with a discussion of "taxation without Representation," concluding very decisively that it is tyranny. Also "that every Englishman in America is born with a right to Civil as well as natural Liberty," "and now after these our reasonings on the point we declare ourselves on the Liberty Side of these Questions."

The report continues with several resolves: first, "that no law is binding if framed by a British Parliament where we have no representation"; second, "that in order to counteract and render abortive (according to the utmost of our power) the British Act respecting the duty on Tea to be paid here; we will not taste of this politically forbidden fruit even if solicited thereto by the Eves of our own Bosoms, nor on any other consideration whatever whilst it remains

under this circumstance of Taxation"; third, that any person "bringing said commodity into the town . . . shall be deemed inimical to the rights and Liberties of America." The report was read twice, freely debated, and then accepted, one copy to be entered in the records and one to be sent to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston.

During these stirring times a sort of perpetual town meeting was in session; that is, the meetings were never dissolved, only adjourned to a time a few weeks distant. On July 4, 1774, at one of these adjourned meetings, two more members were added to the Town's Committee of Correspondence. These were Nathaniel Longley and Eliakim Atherton. The next adjourned meeting voted to purchase no more British goods of any kind "except medicinal drugs," until such time as the Port of Boston should be opened. The Selectmen were also directed to move the stock of ammunition from the meetinghouse to a safer place.

At a meeting on October 3, 1774, Captain Samuel Baker was chosen Representative to the Great and General Court to be held at Salem. He was instructed to "absolutely refuse to be sworn by any officer but such as are appointed according to the Constitution"; also to refuse to attend the General Court at Boston while the town was invested with troops and ships of war. Then he was instructed that if anything prevented the meeting of the General Court in Salem he was to join with others in a Provincial Congress in Concord. Captain Samuel Baker and Ephraim Fairbanks were also chosen to represent Bolton at the Congress in Concord.

1253504

Captain Baker returned from Concord and acted as moderator of town meetings spaced about two weeks apart during several months. Although the town was on the

alert, nothing of importance, with the exception of the Goss controversy, was brought up for some time. However, at a town meeting on January 2, a number of articles were up for discussion. First, a commission was appointed to carry into execution "the non-importation, non-exportation and non-consumption agreement." Next the town directed the Constables to pay to Henry Gardner of Stow whatever tax money they had on hand, instead of to the Provincial Treasurer. In this they followed the advice of the Provincial Congress.

At a meeting on April 10, 1775, the town voted to purchase ten guns for the use of those unable to purchase their own. This meeting was adjourned to the 25th of April, but before that date came, the embattled farmers had fired the shot heard 'round the world.

Early in the morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, a rider sped through the town giving the alarm, and the town "field-piece" boomed out the news of war. From breakfast table, from chores, and from the field, one hundred and twenty-seven men of Bolton swarmed down the Great Road to drive the invaders back.

Although most of our men arrived too late to take active part in the fray, it is known that Bolton's chief military man, General John Whitcomb, and at least a portion of his regiment of minute men were in the battle. Those who missed the fight marched to Cambridge, where the companies remained for about two weeks, although some were allowed to return to their homes in a few days.

Nearly a third of the men enlisted for the remainder of the year 1775. These men had been training for months, and some were skilled in the use of firearms. Each soldier was expected to be fully armed at his own expense, although

the town supplied some who could not afford to buy guns. The equipment consisted of a gun, bayonet, blanket, knapsack, a cutting sword or hatchet, a powder-horn and powder, some tow for wadding, and a quart-size wooden canteen. Clothing was not specified, and each man wore his ordinary homespun garb with numerous additions, whatever his wardrobe boasted. Even the officers had no distinguishing uniforms until later, when Washington required them to wear cockades in their hats, the color signifying their rank.

On the Lexington alarm, three companies marched from Bolton, one hundred and twenty-seven men in all. This is the roll :

*Captain Benjamin Hasting's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's
Regiment*

Capt. Benja ^a . Hastings	Abel Moore	
Lieut. Jonathan Houghton	William Bigelow	
2d Lieut. Jonathan Merriam	William Sawyer	
Sergt. Benjamin Gold	Israel Sawyer	
Sergt. John Wilson	Nathaniel Hastings	
Sergt. Timothy Mosman	John Ross	
Sergt. David Moore	Hezekiah Gibbs	
Corp. James Townsend	Levi Merriam	
Corp. Andrew McWain	Nathaniel Holman	
Corp. Silas Welch	Samuel Stanhope	
Corp. James Briges	Abraham Holman	
Josiah Cooledge	Calvin Holman	
Ephraim Fairbank	Joel Fosket	
John Houghton	Simon Houghton	
John Hasting	Sanderson Houghton	
Abner Moore	Jeremiah Priest	
Joseph Pratt	Josiah Sawyer, Jr.	
Jonathan Whitcomb	Joseph Amsden	Elijah Foster
Abraham Whitney	Benjamin Marble	Josiah Moore
Josiah Sawyer, 3d	Lemuel Bruce	Joshua Townsend

Jeremiah Wilson	Samuel White	William Sawyer
Nathan Ball	William White	John Welch
Cyrus Gates	Nath ^l Oakes	Amos Fuller
Jonathan Robins	Joseph Sawyer	Jacob Houghton
William Ross	Thomas Atherton	Jonas Welch

Captain Artemas How's Militia Company

Capt. Artemas How	George Sawyer
Lieut. David Nurss	Jonas Johnson
2d Lieut. Joseph How	Samuel Jones
Sergt. Wm. Pollard	Nath. Longley
Sergt. Wm. Jones	Thos. Pollard
Sergt. Jotham Maynard	Amos Osgood
Sergt. David Rice	Eben. Worcester
Corp. Josh. Johnson	Nathan Jones
Corp. Timo. Bailey	John Bruce
Corp. Elisha Hodson	Asa Fay
Drum ^r . Jabez Fairbank	Silas Bailey, Jr.
Fif. Samuel Jones, Jr.	Benj. Muzzy
Samuel Baker	Asa Johnson
John Coolidge	Silas Bailey, Senior
Joseph Woods	Jacob Moor
Solomon Jones	John Barnard
Benj ^a . Bailey	Robert Fife
Eben. Bailey	Steph. Bailey

*Company of Captain Robert Longley, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's
Regiment*

Capt. Rob. Longley	Epm. Whitney
Lieut. Paul Whitcomb	David Stratten
Lieut. Thos. Osborn	Jonas Whitcomb
Sergt. John Townsend	John Pierce
Sergt. Oliver Barrett	Jon ^a . Whitcom, Jr.
Sergt. Phin. Moore	Sanderson Houghton
Sergt. Abel Piper	Saml. Bruce
Sergt. Oliver Jewett	Asa Nurss
Drummer Jonas Priest	Benj. Nurss

Gabriel Priest
 Jonas Nurss
 Isaiah Bruce
 Beriah Oak
 David Stiles
 Jabez Walkett
 Thaddeus Pollard
 Sam. Blood

Israel Foster
 James Flood
 Wm. Cooledge
 [Cyrus] Gates
 Josiah Edwards
 Richard Hazeltine
 Jacob French
 Eph^m. Chamberlain

In the Field and Staff of the regiment of Minute Men was Colonel John Whitcomb of Bolton. In the Field and Staff of the militia regiment was Adjutant Eliakim Atherton of Bolton.

In June, 1775, three Bolton men petitioned for commissions as officers of the company they had raised for Colonel Asa Whitcomb's regiment. These were: Benjamin Hastings, Captain; Jonathan Houghton, Lieutenant; and Jonathan Merriam, Second Lieutenant. Captain Robert Longley had also raised a new company of men, which was in action at Bunker Hill. We have no records of his men, or the casualties, if any.

As has been explained previously, enlistment in 1775 was a very different matter from joining the army today. At that time men enlisted for a battle, a campaign, or a certain objective. When the campaign was over the soldiers went home to attend to their farms and the needs of their families. Some enlisted for three months, some for eight months. For this reason, we find the same names again and again on Revolutionary rolls.

In July, 1775, thirteen thousand coats were ordered for the army, each town being required to furnish its share. Bolton was required to send fifty-five. If a soldier furnished his own he was entitled to twenty shillings in money.

All the following winter Washington's men camped around the city of Boston and it is probable that the soldiers from Bolton were with this army. How many are not known, as we have only fragmentary records. The following were enlisted in companies taking part in the Siege of Boston :

Captain Benjamin Hastings' Company

Captain Benjamin Hastings	Joseph Hoar
Lieut. Jonathan Houghton	John Houghton
Lieut. Jonathan Merriam	Joseph Houghton
Sergt. Benjamin Gould	Abel Moore
Sergt. Timothy Mosman	Joseph Pratt
Corp. William Bigelow	William Ross
Corp. William Sawyer	Benjamin Sawyer
Corp. Israel Sawyer	Jonas Welch
James Bridges	William Whitcomb
Isaac Buck	Sergt. Silas Welch (died Sept. 8)
John Chowen	Amos Southgate (died Sept. 21)
Josiah Coolidge	Abner Moore
Ephraim Fairbanks	David Moore
John Hastings	

Captain Robert Longley's Company

Capt. Robert Longley	Jacob French
Sergt. Oliver Jewett	Richard Hazeltine
Corp. Gardner Moore	Samuel Jones
Corp. Joseph Blood	John Longley, Jr.
Thomas Burnam	Gabriel Priest
John Coolidge	Joseph Woods
Josiah Edwards (died)	

There were also in Captain Samuel Wood's company, in Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment of Northboro, the following from Bolton :

David How	Moses Hudson	Soloman Jones
John Hudson	Jonas Johnson	George Sawyer

Two militia companies were also sent from Bolton, the captains of these being Jonathan Houghton and David Nourse.

A resolve of the General Court, June 25, 1776, made it necessary for Bolton to furnish thirty-three more men. A bounty of three pounds was promised each volunteer, plus eighteen shillings if he furnished his own equipment. Captain Jonathan Houghton, with seventy-five men, joined the regiment of Colonel Jonathan Smith on July 22. Of this regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel was Robert Longley, and the Surgeon, Dr. Daniel Greenleaf. The following Bolton men were in Captain Houghton's company :

Capt. Jonathan Houghton	Edward Johnson
Sergt. Samuel Baker	Jonas Johnson
Sergt. William Sawyer	Solomon Jones
Corp. Nathaniel Longley	Joseph Keyes
Silas Bailey	John Longley
William Bigelow	David Maynard
Samuel Blood	Levi Merriam
Adam Bartlet	Stephen Pratt
Benjamin Bruce, Jr.	Eliakim Pratt
Benjamin Bruce	William Ross
Daniel Bruce	Joseph Rugg
Jonas Bruce	George Sawyer
Benjamin Gould	Jesse Walcot
John Greenleaf	Deliverance Wheeler
John Hastings	William Whitcomb
John Houghton	Ephraim Whitney

In the town's records book, a copy of the Declaration of Independence may be found. Congress had ordered that it should be read "as soon as Divine Service is ended in the Afternoon of the first Lord's Day after they shall have received it." It was also directed that it should be spread

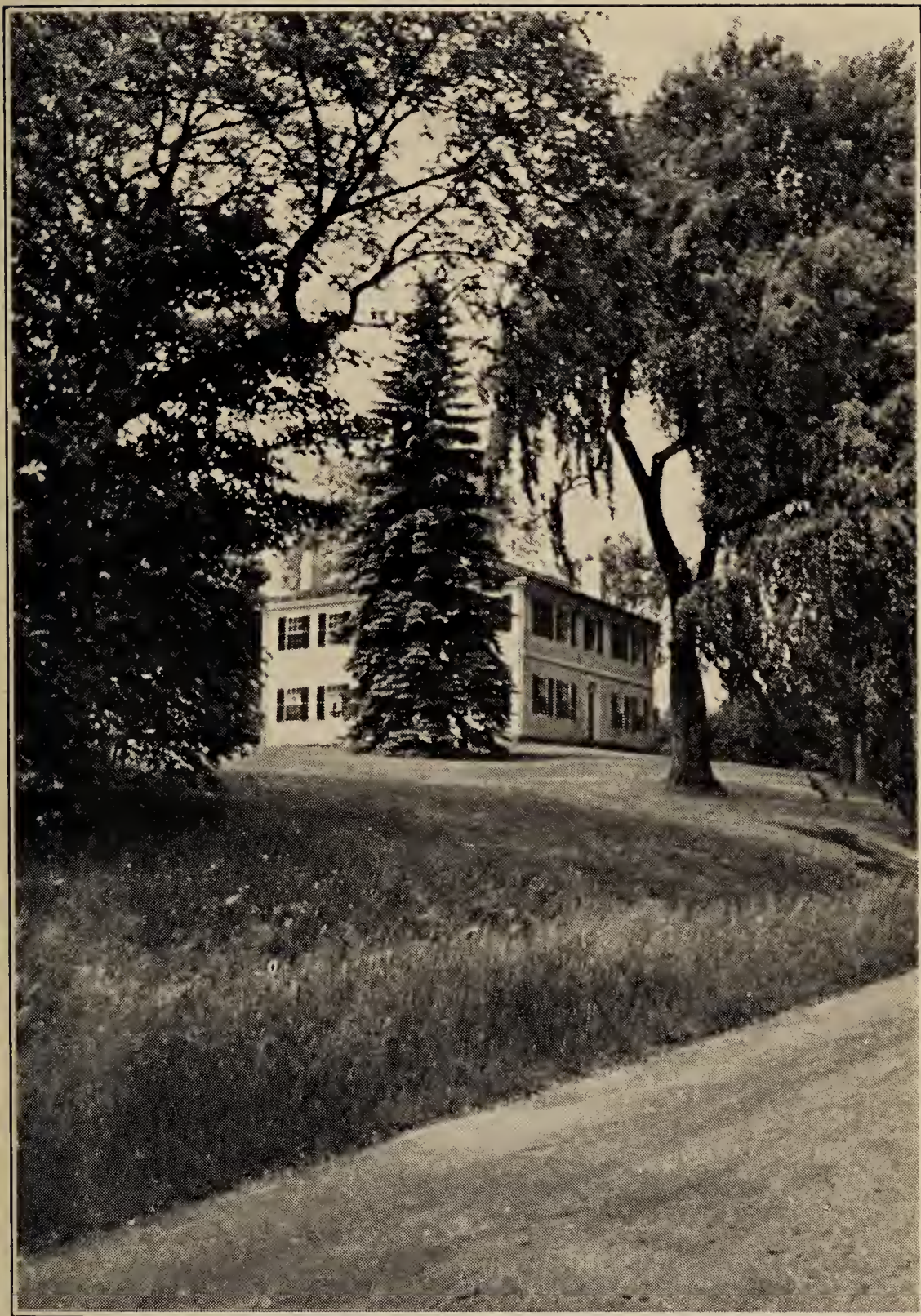
on the records of the town, "there to remain as a perpetual Memorial thereof."

The monthly pay of a private in the army at this time was \$6.67, and enlistments were discouragingly slow. For this reason, bounties were offered by the Congress and in some cases by the towns. One hundred acres of land was promised each volunteer, twenty dollars bounty, and a suit of clothes.

Bolton, in a town meeting on April 15, 1777, voted to "give encouragement to the men that will enlist into the Continental Army for three years." A week later, at an adjourned town meeting, it was voted "not to exceed 30 pounds to one man for encouragement." A committee was appointed to procure the money. This committee was composed of the commissioned officers of each company. On January 15, 1778, the town voted to pay the money the committee had borrowed to hire men into the public service, the amount being £112 to Captain David Nurse and £176-13-6 to Captain Jonathan Houghton.

The quota of soldiers from each town was one-seventh of the males over sixteen years of age. In 1778, Bolton had, according to a town census, 299 men above sixteen, of which our quota was forty-three. As there were at that time only forty-two men in the service, the town doubtless "encouraged," by bounty or otherwise, at least one more to enlist. A few months later a call came for sixteen more men, who were procured.

It is a fact that almost every male citizen of military age must have served at some period of the war; fully one-fourth of the whole population over sixteen years of age was kept constantly in the army during the height of the conflict. Although the death records for Bolton are very



"BRAECROFT," BUILT BY CAPTAIN CALEB MOORE IN 1795

scanty, a number must have been killed in action or died of wounds or disease.

During the absence of the men, the wives and daughters kept the farms running. They took up their burdens with hands that were no strangers to hard work, and the crops were tended and harvested as usual. The town cared for needy families of those in the service. After the war was over, the widows and orphans were supported by the town, such expenditures being refunded by the state.

Below is given a list, as accurate as can be obtained, of the men from Bolton who were in the army from 1777 to the end of the war. The names of those who were hired or who were claimed by other towns have not been listed.

Colonel Abijah Stearns' Regiment, Captain Jos. Sergent's Company

Corp. Saml. Baker	John Longley
Benj. Bruce	Josiah Sawyer
Thomas Burnham	John Whitcomb

Colonel Nathaniel Wade's Regiment

Sergt. Wm. Whitcomb	Jacob Houghton
Nathan Ball	Jonas Houghton
Nathaniel Holman	Abel Priest
Jonas Welsh	

Colonel Wm. Furnas' Regiment

James Hatén	David Wetherby
Elihu Whitcomb	

Colonel John Jacobs' Regiment

Capt. David Moore	John Moore
Joseph Houghton	Richard Townsend
Jonathan Whitcomb	

HISTORY OF BOLTON

Captain Hezekiah Whitney's Company

Lt. Richard Townsend	Simon Houghton
Lt. Thomas Mason	Nathaniel Longley
Sergt. James Burt	Edward Martin
Sergt. Wm. Haskell	Thaddeus Pollard
Sergt. Jacob Moore	Jonathan Stearns
Corp. Uriah Moore	Jonathan Symonds
Corp. Gabriel Priest	Richard Townsend
Fifer Isaac Crouch	Silas Whitcomb
Oliver Atherton	Enoch White
Jonathan Clerk	David Whitney
Samuel Davis	Josiah Whitney
James Fife	Richard Whitney
John Hill	Wm. Willard

Reinforcements, 1778

Abel Baker Age 21	Josiah Sawyer, Jr. . . . Age 20
Ebenezer Baker Age 27	Wm. Sawyer, 3d Age 28
Timothy Blair Age 28	Jesse Walcot Age 44
William Burges Age 27	John Whitcomb, Jr. . . . Age 18
Samuel Moore Age 25	

Nine Months' Men, 1779

John Barnard	Benj. Hastings
Gordon Goddard	Rufus Moore
Benjamin Haskell	Samuel Moore
Moses Haskell	Paul Wilson

Six Months' Men, 1780

Matthew Atherton	Rufus Houghton
Ebenezer Bailey	Eli Longley
John Barnard	Nathaniel Oaks
William Bigelow	Abel Priest
John Burnham	William Ross
Stephen Coolidge	Nathan'l Whitcomb
Moses Haskell	

West Point Expedition, 1781

Sergt. Daniel Harris	James Houghton
Matthew Atherton	Rufus Moore
Nathaniel Holman	Beriah Oaks

First Regiment

Moses Buck	William Coolidge
James Campbell	Michael Ferrin
	Joseph Salt

Fourth Regiment

Moses Hudson

Fifth Regiment

William Bigelow	Jeremiah Burnham
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Tenth Regiment

Josiah Goddard	Andrew McWain
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Twelfth Regiment

John Chowen

Thirteenth Regiment

Benjamin Bailey	James Bridges
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Fourteenth Regiment

Isaac Buck	Abner Moore
John Hastings	Joseph Pratt
Joseph Houghton	James Snow

Fifteenth Regiment

John Barnard, Jr.	Asa Johnson
Abraham Brigham	Edward Johnson, Jr.
Benjamin Bruce	Jonas Johnson
Daniel Bruce	Solomon Jones
John Burnham	Job Priest
James Crossman	Joseph Woods
Elijah Foster, Jr.	

Sixteenth Regiment

Richard Joy	Daniel McDonald
John Newman	

Colonel Crane's Artillery

William Whybert

Enlisted 1781, for Three Years

Jonathan Ball	Jonathan Munger
William Bigelow	Plato Negro
Levi Hazard	Timothy Curtis
Moses Haskell	Haran Eager
John Hill	Abel Priest
Rufus Houghton	Thos. Wassels
James McIntire	John Whitney
John Moore	

Although the United States was at peace in the first years of the nineteenth century, England and France were embroiled in a struggle for supremacy that was to end at Waterloo. Neither combatant had the slightest regard for the rights of weaker nations. All sorts of trade restrictions were made, resulting in great hardship for the mercantile navies of the world, the United States merchant marine in particular, as their profitable trade was stopped and ships lay rotting at the wharves. In 1807, Congress passed the Embargo Act, forbidding United States vessels to leave home ports, and carrying out a strict policy of non-intercourse. New England suffered severely, as industrial life was rapidly destroyed and all shipping was at a standstill.

At a town meeting on August 29, 1808, a committee composed of Nathaniel Longley, Jr., Silas Holman, Caleb Moore, Stephen Gardner, and Caleb Nourse was chosen to draft a petition to the President of the United States for a suspension of the embargo. This petition is a somewhat lengthy document setting forth the hardships and embarrassments caused the petitioners, "farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen," who suffer severely by the "stagnation of almost every kind of business," having no market for their

produce and manufactures. It closes by asking that Congress be convened "that they may take the distress of the people into consideration and grant them relief."

A petition was sent to the state legislature in February of the next year which referred to the former petition to the President, saying that they had cherished a hope that the laws would be repealed "but to our surprise and astonishment Congress on the ninth day of January last passed an act for further enforcing the several Embargo laws." The legislature was enjoined to do all in its power to cause a repeal of these laws. In March, 1809, Congress was at last goaded into repealing the embargo, but substituted for it a non-intercourse act which was unsatisfactory to both parties.

Both England and France continued their acts of aggression, England plundering American merchantmen and impressing American sailors in the British navy.

With no army or navy worth mentioning, no military leaders, and very small financial resources, the United States declared war on England in June, 1812.

At a town meeting a few weeks after the declaration of war, a commission was appointed to prepare a "Memorial" to be sent to the President. It is easy to see what the people of Bolton and the New England states in general thought of the war. The memorial calls it a "ruinous and destructive War, entered into (as we believe) without a probability of terminating in honor or aggrandizement to the country. In fine, we consider the war oppressive, unjust, calamitous and destructive to ourselves more than any enemy there is to contend with."

A committee was appointed to send the memorial to the President; Silas Holman and Nathaniel Longley, Jr., were

elected as delegates to the County Convention ; and a Committee of Correspondence was chosen to confer with Committees of other towns, as had been done in the Revolution. The members of this committee were Stephen P. Gardner, Silas Holman, Caleb Moore, Nathaniel Longley, Jr., and Oliver Barrett.

Not another word in regard to the war appears on the books of the town except this little item: "voted to pay each soldier \$12 per month if called into actual service to fight and defend us from a foreign enemy" provided that the United States or the Commonwealth did not make them a compensation. The names of only two Bolton men have come down to us as having served in the war, those of Elbridge Sawyer and Asa Houghton.

VI

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE WORLD WAR

There never was a good war or a bad peace.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

WHEN Lincoln was inaugurated on the fourth of March, 1861, the Southern States were already in secession and committing acts of war. Their first act was to seize all Federal forts and stores within their boundaries. These forts were built on territory belonging to the states, and the seceding states claimed the right to "resume" their property. Fort Sumter resisted, and was fired upon on the twelfth of April, 1861. Three days later, President Lincoln called for 75,000 men to serve nine months.

The response of Bolton was quick and enthusiastic. The selectmen, Marcellus Houghton, Joel Sawyer, and John Wallis, posted along the streets and roads of the town the following "Call":

CITIZENS OF BOLTON

All who are in favor of sustaining the Government of the U. S. are earnestly requested to meet at the Town Hall on Monday, Apr. 22, to hear and act upon the proposition received from Berlin and Harvard, to form a Volunteer Militia Co., and adopt such other measures as may be necessary.

In accordance with this call, at a town meeting held April 19th, 1861, three men, N. A. Newton, Jos. H. Sawyer,

and Silas Holman, were appointed to draft suitable resolutions, which were as follows :

Resolved : that the citizens of Bolton desire to be behind none of their fellow citizens, in feeling and forcibly manifesting a hearty and loyal attachment to our country, and the institutions under which we have heretofore so signally prospered, and that, pledging our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, calling upon the God of our fathers to aid and bless us, we stand ready, through every hazard and sacrifice, to maintain these time-honored institutions for posterity, as they were handed down to us from a revered ancestry.

Resolved : that in the present trying crisis of public affairs, the unreserved fealty of every good citizen, without reference to party lines or issue, is due to the Supreme Executive of the land, in the first place, and to the Governor of our own state in the second ; that, placing high confidence (irrespective of any particular line of policy) in their patriotism, honor, and efficiency, we respectfully tender to them our cordial sympathy in the toils and anxieties of the hour, and our faithful co-operation in all measures deemed necessary for the public safety.

Resolved : further, that in no way, manner, or shape, will we have complicity with treason, or traitors, and that in no form, either by word or deed, will we give them aid or comfort.

Resolved : that we will cheerfully respond to the call of our Country in the hour of need, by furnishing aid and money, and that no considerations of family affection, or private expediency shall withhold us from assuming our proper quota of the public burden, or from our just share of the sinews of war.

A guarantee fund of \$1200 was raised, and cooperation with Harvard and Berlin was planned, but was not effected. Thirty-five men enrolled at this time.

On May 6, 1861, a committee of ten was chosen to report suggestions relative to the pay, equipment, and drilling of volunteers. The members of this committee were Sherman W. Houghton, Amory Holman, Jonathan Forbush, C. C.



Iris all hues, roses, and gessamin,
Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought
Mosaic; under foot the violet . . .

JOHN MILTON

Moore, N. A. Newton, Lyman Moore, John Sawyer, Joel Sawyer, Henry Whitcomb, and Joel Barnard. In accordance with their recommendations, the town voted to pay volunteers one dollar a day for a term of thirty days, when organized and drilled by a competent drillmaster, and to pay them thirteen dollars a month in addition to what the Government paid them while in actual service, and to furnish them with a uniform. The town also voted to make provision for the families of volunteers while they were in actual service. A sum not to exceed \$3000 was to be raised for these expenses.

Another town meeting was held on July 17, 1862, and it was voted to appropriate \$100 for each of the sixteen volunteers from Bolton, in addition to their regular pay from the United States and from the State of Massachusetts. No bounty money was to be paid any volunteer until he was mustered into the service. A recruiting committee was appointed, consisting of Henry Jewett, Joshua E. Sawyer, Henry T. French, Francis T. Haynes, Samuel R. Haynes, John H. Sawyer, R. S. Edes, and James M. Sawyer.

At intervals throughout the war, the town renewed its instructions to the town treasurer to pay \$100 to each volunteer. The money was raised by taxes on the polls and estates of the inhabitants of the town. Town records show that such votes were taken on August 16, 1862, September 21, 1863, March 7, 1864, April 18, 1864, August 3, 1864, and March 6, 1865.

Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 more men in October, 1863, to carry on the war between the states. Massachusetts required 1526 men, and Bolton's share was 23. In order to recruit this quota, the town held a large public meeting on December second. An eloquent and powerful

speech was made by the Honorable John C. Park of Boston, who had been specially invited for the occasion. Ten young men joined as volunteers, and eight more names were received soon after the meeting. Several special war meetings were held, and the quota was finally raised.

From the beginning of the war in 1861 to its end in 1865, Bolton raised 155 men, out of a population of approximately 1500. Those who served during the war are listed below, the names under each heading being arranged in alphabetical order. The names of the 21 men who died in the war are starred.

2d Regiment : Henry Learned

13th Regiment (those who first went out) : Ezekiel W. Choate, Ledra A. Coolidge, Silas A. Coolidge, Samuel M. Haynes, Edward A. Houghton, Francis M. Kimmens, Charles McQuillan, William A. Newhall, Rolla Nicholas,* Enoch C. Pierce (sergeant), Henry Whitcomb (captain), John Thomas Whittier (orderly sergeant)

15th Regiment : John Fahee, Thomas Hastings,* Nelson Pratt, Thomas Sherwin, Jr. (captain, afterwards in 22d), John S. Williams (afterwards in 4th Cavalry), John Wood

16th Regiment : George A. Barnes, Albert C. Houghton,* Oliver L. Nourse (sergeant)

19th Regiment : William Stone (major)

20th Regiment : Thomas Whitman *

21st Regiment : William A. Bowers, George E. Burgess, Charles R. Haven, James Kennedy, Luke Ollis* (claimed by Lancaster, his name on Lancaster tablet)

22d Regiment : George B. Cook,* Charles A. Fry,* Joseph S. Hildreth, Rufus H. Williams* (claimed by Berlin, his name on Berlin tablet)

23d Regiment : Amos B. Jarvis

32d Regiment : Windsor H. Bigelow (assistant surgeon)

33d Regiment : Edward L. Edes* (corporal)

36th Regiment : Henry H. Bartlett, Theodore H. Bartlett, Edwin

Barnes,* Hiram P. Beane, Reuben Clapp, Ezra Crocker,* Franklin Farnsworth,* John C. Haynes* (claimed by Lancaster, his name on Lancaster tablet), Andrew J. Houghton, Josiah Houghton,* Walter Kennedy, John Lake, George H. Patrick, George F. Sawyer, Joseph H. Sawyer (orderly sergeant), George H. Thomas, Asahel C. Wetherbee, Henry M. Wetherbee, Reuben L. Wetherbee, George S. Willis, Elijah H. Woodbury* (corporal)

38th Regiment: George H. Stone*

47th Regiment: Burgess Taylor

57th Regiment: James J. McVey, George Willis

5th Regiment, Company 1 (Nine Months' Men): Edmund R. Babcock (later in 4th Cavalry), F. R. Bennett, George A. Corser* (later in 2d Artillery), James F. Despeau, Lyman Gibbs, William Gibbs, Amory S. Haynes (later in Hundred Days' Men), James D. Hurlbut, James Jillson, William H. Larrabee, Charles B. Newton (captain), Francis M. Newton (later in 4th Cavalry), Andrew L. Nourse, William D. Pierce, Andrew A. Powers (lieutenant, later in Hundred Days' Men), John Sawyer (sergeant, later in Hundred Days' Men), Isaac C. Stratton, Augustus H. Trowbridge, Charles H. White, Henry Wood, Henry A. Woodbury

5th Regiment, Hundred Days' Men: Joseph A. Bryant, Lyman B. Gates, Christopher C. M. Newton, Amos P. Powers, Stephen F. Smith

Nim's Battery: Francis Murphy

1st Heavy Artillery: Edwin J. Brown, Charles F. Getchell, Edwin Kilburn Holt,* Baldwin Houghton, Warren Houghton, Stephen H. Hunting,* Charles W. Nourse, George W. Pratt,* Eugene Smith, William W. Wheeler, Francis H. Whitcomb

2d Heavy Artillery: Abel J. Collins,* Edward E. Houghton, Charles B. Newton, George E. Sargent, Charles G. Wheeler*

3d Cavalry: Francis E. Howard

4th Cavalry: Waldo E. Kimmens, Joseph L. Marston, Abner M. Nutting, William L. Osgood

5th Cavalry: Thornton Hayden*

5th Cavalry, U. S. A.: John B. Stanley*

Signal Service: George Edwin Woodbury (previously in 1st Cavalry for Leominster)

Provisional Guards : Ira A. Dutton

Regular United States Navy : Robert T. Edes (assistant surgeon),
John Henry Hapgood (seaman)

Volunteer Navy : Henry Rockwood (assistant surgeon)

Other Bolton residents in various branches of the service were : Hall Davis, surgeon of the 38th U. S. Regiment, colored troops, afterwards a physician in Bolton ; Ambrose Eames, surgeon in the 51st Regiment, physician in Bolton ; Thomas Grassie, chaplain of 108th N. Y. Volunteers ; Mary Elizabeth Haynes, a nurse in the hospitals ; Reuben M. Whitcomb and Charles A. Wheelock, sutlers with the 36th Regiment.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

Edwin Barnes, son of Samuel and Caroline Haven Barnes, was born in Bolton on January 9, 1837. He joined the 36th, was wounded near Petersburg in December, 1864, and conveyed thence to Washington, where he died on January 10, 1865.

Abel J. Collins, son of Amos W. and Lucy Fry Collins, was born at Stonington, Connecticut, on April 12, 1846. Though by religious convictions a lover of peace, he enlisted in the 2d Heavy Artillery and disappeared from sight somewhere near Morehead City, North Carolina. For months his fate was unknown, but finally, almost a year after the close of the war, his name was found on the list of the dead at Andersonville, where he perished on November 5, 1864.

George B. Cook, son of Captain Joshua and Abigail Cook, of Duxbury, was born about 1831, enlisted in the 22d Regiment, and died at White Oak Swamp in the summer of 1861. He left a widow and two children.

George Corser, son of Sam and Luthena Corser, was born about 1844 in Greenfield. He enlisted first in the 5th Regiment with the Nine Months' Men, and later in the 2d

Heavy Artillery. He escaped all war bullets only to die of pestilence at Newbern in the fall of 1864.

Ezra Crocker, son of Ezra and Polly Crocker, of Moretown, Vermont, was born on March 16, 1821, and enlisted in the 36th. Captain W. F. Brigham wrote of him, "He was cool and brave in battle, prompt and faithful in the performance of every duty." He died at Blain's Cross Roads, December 6, 1863.

Edward Louis Edes, son of Richard and Mary Cushing Edes, was born on November 19, 1845, in Bolton. He joined the 33rd, which had much trying service, first in the Army of the Potomac and afterwards in the Army of Tennessee. He suffered greatly from fatigue and exposure on the famous March through Georgia, and was finally taken ill and died at Chattanooga, July 3, 1864. His body was interred in Section E in the National Cemetery. "When he enlisted, he was only sixteen years old but at the time of his illness he had already received the promotion of Corporal. His officers spoke of him in the highest terms as a soldier, and for the moral character he bore."

Franklin Farnsworth, son of Franklin and Lydia Toombs Farnsworth, was born in Bolton, March 2, 1838. The main support of a widowed mother, he might have escaped going to war, but enlisted with the 36th. In the fearful campaign of the Wilderness, he was twice severely wounded. Suffering the pains of an amputated limb, he lingered in the hospital until his death occurred in May, 1864. He was buried at Mary's Heights in the rear of Fredericksburg.

Charles E. Fry, son of Obadiah and Mary Rich Fry, was born in Bolton on September 3, 1840. He enlisted in October 1861, in the 22d Regiment, and died of typhoid fever in 1862.

Thomas Hastings, son of Reuben and Hannah Hastings, was born in Berlin about 1818. He joined the 15th Regiment, and died in a hospital in Philadelphia on September 29, 1862.

Thornton Hayden, colored, a man of good intelligence, was brought away as contraband from near Fredericksburg by Captain Henry Whitcomb of the 13th Regiment. After living here in Bolton for some months, he felt it his duty to enlist and joined the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, but, disease taking hold of him, he died at Readville on January 25, 1864.

Edwin K. Holt, son of the Reverend Kilburn and Nancy Stackpole Holt, was born at Thomaston, Maine, in November, 1845. He enlisted in the 1st Heavy Artillery. His fate was a hard one, for, wounded and taken prisoner at Spottsylvania, Virginia, he was carried off to Andersonville. Here the most heroic fortitude and cheerfulness availed him little, for diphtheria attacked him, and without medical attendance he died four days later, September 13, 1864. He sent his Bible, which he had read through several times, as a parting gift to his parents, telling them that he had always kept the temperance pledge he had made them.

Albert C. Houghton, son of Captain and Mary Danforth Houghton, was born in Concord in 1844. He was among the youngest who enlisted from this town, joining first the 15th and when that was disbanded, the 16th; he did his share in the campaign of the Peninsular and the Seven Days' Retreat. By his good conduct he won the appreciation of those in command, and on the day before his death he was promoted to be Corporal. After his death, word came from his officers that he was attentive to all his duties and one who bravely fell on the field of honor.

Josiah Houghton, son of Marcellus and Catherine Fogg Houghton, was born at Winthrop, Maine, on July 25, 1844. Enrolled with the 36th, he was recognized for his orderly, well-disciplined qualities. Hardly had the movement toward Richmond commenced in the spring of 1864, when he received a mortal wound from a bullet in his lungs and died in an ambulance on the way to Fredericksburg on the sixth of May, 1864. "Tenderly loved at home, he was not only a brave soldier, but a dutiful son."

Stephen H. Hunting, son of Martin R. and Mary Houghton Hunting, was born in Bolton on January 9, 1846. He was with the 1st Heavy Artillery at Petersburg and was killed by a fragment of a shell in the rebels' attack on Fort Stedman, March 28, 1865. "He died," wrote his captain, "in the valiant discharge of his duty."

Rolla Nicholas was the son of George S. and Lydia Nicholas of New Ipswich, New Hampshire. He joined the 13th and was fatally wounded in the battles of the Wilderness, lingering along till his death occurred at Armory Square Hospital, Washington, on June 2, 1864.

George W. Pratt, son of Calvin C. and Sarah Pratt, was born in Holden, and was a member of the 1st Heavy Artillery. A victim of the battle of the Wilderness, he died on June 16, 1864.

John B. Stanley, son of William and Caroline Stanley, was born in Dover, December 9, 1837. He joined the 15th Regiment and when that disbanded he joined the 5th U. S. Cavalry. His life came to an end through disease on December 27, 1863, at Brandy Station, Virginia.

George Herbert Stone, son of the Reverend T. T. and Laura Poor Stone, was born at East Machias, Maine, on August 2, 1840. He was a quiet, studious boy. His three

brothers were already in the field, but full of ardor and enthusiasm he enlisted in the 38th in the summer of 1862. He was at New Orleans and on the way to Port Hudson, but sick and wounded was borne to the hospital at Baton Rouge, where he died on July 1, 1863. After his death a letter came from Captain Lathrop under whom he served, saying, "In camps and on the march, he always did his duty faithfully."

Charles G. Wheeler, son of Isaac and Martha Whitcomb Wheeler, was born in Bolton, July 25, 1845. He enlisted in the 2d Heavy Artillery and went to North Carolina where he was attacked by pneumonia and died at Morehead City, February 21, 1864.

Thomas Whitman, born in Stow in 1827, was a member of one of Massachusetts' most celebrated regiments, the 20th. He participated in the Seven Days' Retreat from Richmond, and died at Fair Oaks on July 19, 1862.

Elijah Woodbury, son of William and Susan Woodbury, was born in Bolton on January 24, 1824. He was known as a diligent, hard-working man. Enlisting in the 36th, he held the rank of Corporal. He was instantly killed at Cold Harbor on June 3, 1864, and was buried by his comrades on the battlefield where he died.

At the first town meeting after the war, held April 2, 1866, the voters discussed the best method of commemorating the war dead, and a committee was appointed, consisting of S. Henry Howe, Marcellus Houghton, Silas Holman, Caleb Wheeler, and Charles Cook. The committee suggested the erection of suitably inscribed marble tablets in the Town House, and \$400 was appropriated for that purpose, Mr. S. Henry Howe generously adding \$100 more, for which he received the voted thanks of the town.

The Dedication Exercises were held on December 20, 1866. Following the prayer by the Reverend T. T. Stone and the introductory address by Mr. S. Henry Howe, the Reverend R. S. Edes read biographies of the twenty-one men of Bolton who gave their lives in the war, and Doctor George B. Loring of Salem delivered an oration. Mr. Addison Smith read an ode composed for the occasion by Mr. Amos Collins.

The memorial tablets are of white Italian marble, with gilt lettering. Fastened to the wall facing the entrance of the Town House, they stand on either side of the platform and desk, the one on the west side giving the names of the first eleven who fell, and that on the east recording the names of the last ten. The west tablet is inscribed, "They never fail who die in a good cause"; and above the east tablet are the words, "Our loss is our Country's gain." At the base is the inscription, "Erected in grateful remembrance of the brave and patriotic volunteers of Bolton, who gave their lives in defence of their Country, in the war of the Great Rebellion." At the bottom are these lines :

The blood-stained field or nation's dust their bones
Receive, while we on memory's sacred tablets carve,
In letters bright, their ever-treasured names.

The war between Spain and the United States began in April and ended in December, 1898, hostilities lasting only one hundred and thirteen days. Bolton was affected very little by the war, the only enlistment being that of Walter Currier, who was rejected, and the only other activity being that of the ladies' committee which met to make bandages for the hospitals. Nothing is to be found in the town records on this subject.

Thirty-eight citizens of Bolton served in the World War, and two were killed in action in France, Lieutenant David Oliver Nourse Edes and Amory Pollard Sawyer, Jr.

Lieutenant Edes, son of Frank C. and Catherine (Nourse) Edes, was born in Bolton, March 20, 1895, and was graduated from Clinton High School and Massachusetts State College. His military training was first begun at Camp Upton, New York, where he became a sergeant. Later, training in France in the 306th Infantry, he obtained a second lieutenant's commission, in charge of Company E. 131st Infantry, and was killed in action on August 10, 1918. Of a sunny disposition, unblemished character, and sterling worth, he gave his life for his country, and his memory will long be enshrined in the hearts of Bolton citizens.

Amory Pollard Sawyer, Jr., the son of Amory P. Sawyer and Elizabeth (Yeoman Wood) Sawyer, was born at Galesburg, Illinois, on September 2, 1891, and was graduated from the high schools of Worcester and North Brookfield. He enlisted in October, 1917, in Company K., 165th Infantry, and died in action at Vanclaive, Dordogne, France, on August 13, 1918. Of upright New England stock, he early distinguished himself by his noble worth and character, and bore his name proudly through the trials of the war.

During the late summer of 1917, funds and books were called for to aid in establishing libraries in the various camps for the use of the soldiers. The amount required from Bolton was \$40.00. With J. Wilkinson Clapp as director, \$96.05 was raised, and some two hundred books and many magazines were collected and sent to headquarters. Under the direction of the Red Cross, the ladies organized into the Civic Federation, which met weekly at the Town House to

make bandages. Layettes and children's clothes were made for refugees, and knitting was also done for the soldiers. This organization was continued after the war, and the ladies sewed for charitable purposes, such as the Clinton Hospital.

Below is a copy of the inscription on the World War memorial tablet on the Bolton Public Library grounds.

DEDICATED TO THE MEN OF BOLTON
1917 WHO SERVED IN THE WORLD WAR 1919

* Lieut. D. O. N. Edes

* Amory Pollard Sawyer, Jr.

Charles J. Babcock
Leslie L. Babcock
Charles Barrett
Alfred F. Bonazzoli
Pierino Bonazzoli
George M. Burnside
John Bernard Butler
Carl Albert Campbell
John Francis Coke
Edward Devine
Osborne T. Everett
Herbert W. Headle
Sydney R. Fletcher
Alfred Francis Gill
Henry A. Hamill
Chas. Francis Haynes
Walter B. Hicks
George G. Jacobs

Clarence E. Kimball
Rene St. Maurice
Alphonse Normand
Onesine Normand
Albert I. Pardee
Stillman Rand
Joseph Roy
Chas. E. Sargent
Frank W. Sargent
John Henry Sawyer
Harry A. Smith
Ernest Franklin Wheeler
Freeman H. Wheeler
Richard M. Wheeler
William H. Woodbury
Roland N. White
Lieutenant Marshall Headle
Capt. Edward A. Hackett, A. R. C.

VII

EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane;
But the church of Jesus
Constant will remain.

SABINE BARING-GOULD

To understand the early church history of New England, it should be remembered that two separate bodies were concerned in the settlement of ministers. The legal body was the parish, usually coextensive with the town, to which all the inhabitants belonged. The business of the parish was usually done in town meeting. The church was a voluntary body of covenanted souls, having no rights under the law but certain privileges, such as worshiping in the meeting-house and cooperating with the parish in the selection of ministers. All 'power of contract' was vested in the parish.

When the town of Bolton was founded in 1738, the grant required the inhabitants to build a meetinghouse, assess and collect taxes, and pay the minister. Accordingly, a town meeting was called in January, 1739, "To know where and at what place to erect an House for the Public Worship of God so that we may in his Time be Preparing for said Building and more Especially to know whether it will not be Agreeable to the inhabitants To have the Gospel preached Amongest us This Winter or not, and who to invite to Dispencc The Word." It was decided not to have preaching that winter.

Discussion about the meetinghouse continued for several meetings. In October, 1739, the town voted to "raise 300 pounds money to build said Meetinghouse, 150 pounds to be paid in four months and 150 pounds to be paid in six months." The question of location was finally determined at this meeting also, and is believed to be near the present site of the barn belonging to Mrs. Trevitt. Forty-one voters agreed and twenty-two dissented.

The covenant was as follows :

We the subscribers do covenant and agree that the place to set up the House of God To meet in, Shall be on the Nole Near-est to the Barn called the Widdow Townsends Barn. On the North side of the Barn.

NB. If the above covenant Cannot be signed by the Major part of the Voters, it is to be Void and of none Effect.

Jonathan Moore	Jacob Houghton	Henry Houghton
Jeremiah Willson	Josiah Whetcomb	John Priest
Thomas Sawyer	Jonah Richardson	Jabes Beaman
Jonathan Beaman	Benj. Stearns	Benj. Atherton
John Moor	Joshua Townsend	Jonathan Houghton
Jabez Fairbank	Jonathan Robbins	David Whetcomb
Thomas Ball	Josiah Sawyer	Daniel Houghton
Silas Houghton	John Houghton	Jacob Houghton, second
William Wilder	James Snow	John Houghton, second
Hez Snow	Samuel Snow	Sanderson Houghton
John Wilder	Elias Sawyer	Widd. Mary Houghton
Daniel Greenleaf	Elijah Sawyer	William Pollard
John White	Nathaniel Willson	Simon Whetcomb
Joseph Wood	William Sawyer	

At the next town meeting, "Jabez Fairbank, Elias Sawyer, and Jonathan Whetcomb were chosen a committee for the building of the meetinghouse." In December, the meeting voted to purchase two acres of land from Mr. Fletcher on the knoll as described in the covenant; and in

March the town voted "that Thomas Dick should have the liberty to cut six sticks of timber on any man's land in order to build the Meetinghouse."

The records do not say when the meetinghouse was completed, but on June 23, 1740, the first town meeting was called together there. The meetinghouse was called the 'Church of Christ in Bolton.'

From time to time the town had voted "sums towards preachings," which were held in the homes of John Whitney, Jonathan Moor, and Thomas Sawyer. Finally, on December 15, 1740, the parish chose Mr. Thomas Goss to be their minister. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1737, at the age of twenty years, and gave every promise of a useful career in the ministry. "If the gentleman do except the call and upon examination by the ministers of the Gospel do appear to be Orthodox and qualified for the pastoral office then to have the sum of 380 pounds in the old Tenour for Settlement or that which is a equivalent to it."

Another meeting "voted to give 170 pounds in bills of the old Tenour to be regulated by Indian corn at 8 shillings per bushel, Rie at 10 shillings per bushel, Peas at 6 pence per pound and Pork at 9 pence per pound to be paid yearly as a stated salary." Provincial currency was, in general, very much less than that of the same denominations in English money.

Soon after, the next meeting set the vote aside as not being legal. Upon the advice of the neighboring ministers in Stow, Lancaster, and Sudbury, the town voted to hear three ministers — Mr. Belcher Hancock, Mr. William Gay, and Mr. Goss.

In June, 1741, Mr. Goss was chosen the minister by the 44 votes qualified by law. "For his settlement or encour-

K NOW all men by these presents, That we, ABRAHAM MOORE, SILAS HOLMAN, and NATHANIEL LONGLEY, jun. a Committee to sell and give title of Pews in the Meeting House in the town of Bolton, in consideration of *thirteen pounds eight shillings* paid to *Sanderson Houghton* of said Bolton, *German* the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and in behalf of said Town we do hereby give, grant, sell, and convey, unto the said *Sanderson Houghton* his Heirs and Assigns *Pew No. Thirteen, on the lower floor* in said House: To Have and to hold the same to the said *Sanderson Houghton* his Heirs and Assigns, to *his* and *their* use and behoof forever. And we do covenant with the said *Sanderson Houghton* his Heirs and Assigns, that said Town is lawfully seized, in fee, of the premises; that they are free of all incumbrances; and that, in our capacity, we will warrant and defend the same to the said *Sanderson Houghton* his Heirs and Assigns forever, against the lawful claims and demands of all persons. In witness whereof, we hereunto set our hands and seals, this *twenty sixth* day of *February* in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety *four*. Signed, sealed, and delivered, in presence of:

Abraham Moore
Silas Holman
Nathaniel Longley, jun.
James Moton
Silas Whitcomb

A DEED TO A PEW IN THE MEETINGHOUSE

Pew Thirteen, on the lower floor, was deeded to Sanderson Houghton and his heirs on February 26, 1794, by the Committee, Abraham Moor, Silas Holman, and Nathaniel Longley, Junior. The price was thirteen pounds, eight shillings.



THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH, BUILT IN 1793 AND BURNED IN 1926

agement sum, 400 pounds in bills of the old Tenour and 180 pounds sallary in bills of old tenour or in passable bills of credit that shall be equivolent to it as the money now passes." The settlement or encouragement money was to be used by the new minister in paying off old debts contracted for his education, in purchasing necessary books for his library, or in procuring articles of furniture for his household. On September 16, 1741, Mr. Goss accepted.

The arrangement of seats in the meetinghouse was a subject of great discussion. At the annual meeting of March 2, 1742, it was put to vote "if the highest payers in the town and on Down as many as there is Room for Pews shall have Liberty to chose the pew ground for a pew, he building the same on his own charge." It was favorably voted and Captain Elias Sawyer, Deacon Jabez Fairbank, Daniel Greenleaf, Benjamin Atherton, and Jabez Beaman were chosen a committee to divide the pew ground and seat the meetinghouse. Jonathan Robins was chosen to "care for the meetinghouse, as sweeping etc." About two months later they voted to "give the committee, liberty to have respect to the aged, infirm and the widows in seating the Meetinghouse." Captain Elias Sawyer and Jabez Fairbank were chosen tything men.

In 1746, the town voted "to consider the Rev. Mr. Thos. Goss's circumstances so as to give him 20 pounds old tenour for the present year, in addition to his salary." Mr. Goss wrote the town a letter in answer, "I return you thanks for it, but considering that it was obtained with some difficulty I now fully and freely discharge you from any obligation lying on you for payment of the same by virtue of said Grant. Asking your prayers that I may so administer to you in holy things as that I may be worthy to Receive a

competent portion of worldly good things from you and praying that brotherly love may continue, subscribe myself, Your unworthy pastor. Thomas Goss."

The town appropriated 150 pounds to finish the meetinghouse in 1747, and at the next year's meeting added thirty-five pounds to the minister's salary. Three years later, in 1751, another sum was voted to finish the meetinghouse and in November the building was accepted as finished.

Each year for several years Mr. Goss was given thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence in addition to his salary. In 1756, it was proposed that the town buy a woodlot for the minister but this did not pass and he was left to "find his own wood." After that, for many years he received extra money in varying amounts.

How things went during the thirty years after Mr. Goss's ordination does not appear in the records. The first indication of a difference of opinion appears in the vote of May 21, 1770, in which the town "voted to join with the church in all proper and constitutional methods towards settling the Differences now subsisting between the church and said Town." In September, nine pounds was voted to hire preaching until such time as Mr. Goss was able to supply the pulpit. It seems quite possible that he was temporarily suspended since the town voted to take off twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence of extra salary they had given him for a number of years. In August 3, 1771, the town "voted to concur with the church in dismissing and discharging the Rev. Mr. Thomas Goss from all parts of his ministerial affairs amongst us." "No person shall be admitted to the meetinghouse as a public speaker but such as have had approbation of the selectmen." "Mr. Goss hath made a division in the church and by maladministra-

tion and Breach of Covenant hath brought the Town into deplorable circumstances and thereby hath forfeited his Right of Claim to the Desk as a Teacher."

By 1772, a lawsuit was under way. Mr. Goss claimed his salary and the town had to appoint a committee to defend itself. During this time and until the death of Mr. Goss, friends and supporters held religious services at his home. It is believed that the invisible root of the trouble, which patriots did not care to expose to the King's spies, was that Mr. Goss was a stanch Royalist in politics as well as an autocrat in the church.

Mr. Goss has been described as a tall, spare man, of stern aspect, and indomitable will. The mansion he built indicated a man of aristocratic habits. The house now stands and is used as "The Country Manor" but is known to residents as the Amory Holman estate.

Thomas Goss died in Bolton, and on the slate slab on his grave in the South Cemetery is the following inscription in Latin :

Sacred to the memory of Rev. Thomas Goss, A.M., Pastor of the church among the Boltonians, who, for upwards of thirty-nine years having exercised the sacred office, departed this life January 17th, 1780, in the 63d year of his age. A man adorned with piety, hospitality, friendliness, and other virtues; somewhat broken in body but endowed with wonderful fortitude; he was the first among the clergy in these unhappy times to be grievously persecuted for boldly opposing those who were striving to overturn the prosperity of the churches, and for heroically struggling to maintain the ecclesiastical polity which was handed down by our ancestry. Friends erected this monument.

The town soon joined with the church in its choice of Mr. John Walley, a graduate of Harvard College in 1734. Mr. Walley accepted the call in May, 1773, and was installed in

June. He was to receive 66 pounds, 13 shillings and fourpence annually, and also 20 cords of wood.

The church, as a body, was not united under the Reverend Mr. Walley, for Mr. Goss retained some warm adherents. An agreement was finally made that Mr. Walley should ask and receive a dismissal; the agreement was signed, and Mr. Walley left on January 31, 1783. The original church covenant was renewed, and a new church and society were formed.

The Church Book of Records for Bolton began December 18, 1782. The subscribers under the care of Reverend John Walley numbered eighteen, and the following were listed after the renewing of the covenant in February :

Simon Whitcomb	Joshua Townsend
John Whitcomb	Oliver Pollard
David Whitcomb	Ephraim Atherton
Benj. Atherton	Clifton Rice
Thos. Sawyer	Nathaniel Longley
Jeremiah Holman	Jonas Houghton
Samuel Snow	Robert Barnard
David Moore	William Fife
Elijah Rice	Robert Longley
Jesse Walcott	Jonathan Moore
Ephraim Fairbank	Jonathan Whitcomb
John Whitney	Abijah Pollard
Thaddeus Russell	John Nurss
Abraham Moore	John Whitcomb, Jr.
Jonathan Nurse	William Sawyer
Calvin Greenleaf	Oliver Barrett
Elijah Whitney	Paul Whitcomb
John Jewett	David Stiles

Reverend Phineas Wright, a native of Westford and a graduate of Harvard in 1772, was the next minister, ordained on October 28, 1785. He received a settlement of

180 pounds, and an annual salary of 80 pounds and twenty cords of wood. Under his guidance the church adopted in 1792 the "Thirteen Rules and Regulations." After a quiet and prosperous service, Mr. Wright died of a paralytic stroke while walking back from Lancaster in December, 1802. There was talk that Mr. Wright had stopped at the Tavern for intoxicating drink, but the town wrote a long statement exonerating him from any wrongdoing.

During the ministry of Mr. Wright, a new meetinghouse was built. The work was started in 1790 and finished three years later. The building was "fifty-six feet long, and the Width in Handsom proportion thereto." It had square pews, a high pine pulpit, and a front gallery "appropriated to the use of the singers. A clock was put up, and a sexton was appointed to take care of it and also to clean the meetinghouse, toll the bell, and dig graves. Mr. William Woodbury was the sexton, with a salary of \$6.00 for care of the meetinghouse and \$7.30 for ringing and tolling the bell and taking care of the clock. He also received 25¢ for each funeral. During the next twelve years there were various sextons; one received as little as nine dollars per year and others on up to \$13.50.

May, 1798, brought a vote to "deposit the town stock of Powder, balls, etc. in the upper part (or garrett) of the meetinghouse and a partition put up between said garret and the tower and a door be made with a lock and key to same, under the care and direction of the selectmen."

On July 28, 1803, Reverend Isaac Allen was unanimously chosen minister. According to a biographical note by the Reverend Mr. Edes, "The Reverend Mr. Allen was born in Weston in 1771, graduated at Harvard College in 1798, and was ordained in March, 1804. By an accidental fall

on the ice when a boy, he was a cripple, having a dislocated hip. He was, however, a person of remarkably even and cheerful temperament; of a lively wit, excelling in repartee; of sound common sense; competently, but not deeply, versed in the lore of his profession; and one of the most kind-hearted and hospitable men. His benefactions in humble but very efficient ways were numerous. By his constant activity and never-failing sympathy, he had here a happy ministry." The town agreed to pay Mr. Allen a salary of \$460 in half-year payments, and \$430 for settlement. He bought Mr. Wright's house.

The church received a gift of a silver tankard from Colonel Asa Whitcomb in 1806. In accordance with the consent of the relatives of Mr. Whitcomb and a vote passed at the annual meeting in 1844, this tankard was sold and the proceeds used to purchase a new double-gilt baptismal basin, two silver-gilt plates, and a large folio Bible for the use of the pulpit. Eight silver goblets were received in 1827, the bequest of Rufus Nourse of Baltimore. New silver-gilt flagons were first used in April, 1845, and a new set of communion table and chairs was purchased in 1844.

In 1822, the selectmen were authorized to buy a stove and funnel to place in the meetinghouse. This is the first time we have found any mention of heating the building. The only warmth obtainable for worshipers was to be found in the little foot-stoves which many of them carried. These were small wooden boxes about eight inches square, with handles. A hinged door allowed the insertion of a smaller perforated metal box which in turn contained an earthen or iron cup to be filled with live coals from the nearby tavern before the service began.

In 1830, some of the inhabitants wished the large oak tree

near the church destroyed. The matter was brought up in town meeting, and the motion to remove the oak failed to pass. Soon after this, the defeated minority tried by stealth to blow up the tree with gunpowder. It is evident that even then the oak must have been immense or its destruction would not have been so difficult. The hole where the gunpowder was put is now filled with a knotty oak growth. The tree is more than two hundred years old. The large maple trees on the roadside and in front of the church were set out sometime before 1841.

VIII

THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH

The Church should have a tapering spire . . .

To lead men's thoughts from earth to heaven. . . .

JOHN E. WOODROW

IN 1833, the legislators of Massachusetts confirmed the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of the Commonwealth which made a complete separation between the parish and the town. It took away from the town the right to choose ministers and the title to all church property, giving both these rights to the various religious societies. Accordingly, the members of the church in Bolton formed the "First Parish and Religious Society," which held its first meeting in April, 1834. On January 5, 1835, the Society became known as the First Parish Church in Bolton, but it was not until 1843 that the covenant of the church was adopted.

Reverend Isaac Allen, who had served the church since 1803, retired from active ministry in 1843 and Reverend Richard S. Edes was installed as colleague pastor. Mr. Edes was a graduate of Brown University and Cambridge Divinity School. He had previously served the church in Eastport, Maine.

On the first Sunday of the next year, the senior minister, Mr. Allen, sent this letter to the church, which was read at the beginning of the Communion Service :

Bolton, Jan. 7, 1844.

Christian friends,

I wish you a happy new year, and all the happiness which results from a faithful discharge of duty. Your old minister and friend, although weak and helpless, feels the same strong interest in your welfare he ever has felt. During the few remaining days God may see fit to spare me on earth, it will give me heartfelt pleasure to hear of your religious progress, and that you are increasing in numbers and strength, and that you remain united, full of Christian faith and charity, and that you are making daily advancement in everything excellent and praiseworthy. I would say to those young friends who have recently united with the Church, that I hope they will experience all the religious advantages and pleasures they anticipate from this step. I would also express the hope, that they who have been witnesses of their good example may be induced to follow it.

My friends, my own condition may serve to remind you of the duty of action while health and strength remain. May what I have so often said to you from the pulpit be now indelibly impressed upon your minds, that the sick bed is no place to fix the attention or fasten the thoughts on any subject and that, accordingly, if religious truths and principles have not been impressed before, they can hardly yield here their appropriate supports and consolations.

Ever your friend, Isaac Allen.

After an illness of six months' duration, Reverend Mr. Allen died on Monday evening, March 18, 1844, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Mr. Allen's will was an interesting document, and was read to the parish in the Town House immediately after his funeral. These were its terms :

All the residue and remainder of my Real Estate and Personal Estate of every description (after the debts and funeral expenses have been paid) I give and bequeath and devise the same to

the Religious Society in the said Town of Bolton, of which for many years I have been their minister, and from whom I have received many favors and much kindness, — Provided, and so long as said Religious Society have or employ a Liberal or Unitarian Gospel Minister. But if said Religious Society should ever cease to have or employ such a Gospel Minister as aforesaid and continue that cessation for the term of one year at any one time, then, and in that case, I give and bequeath the aforesaid residue and remainder of my said Real and Personal Estate to the Theological Institution in Cambridge for their use forever.

The total amount of money decreed to the executor, Hon. Amory Holman, was \$19,601.67.

The years 1844 and 1845 were busy ones, as the old meetinghouse, built in 1793, was made over at this time. No part of the old building but the massive framework of oak was left standing. A thorough repairing and remodeling job was completed at a cost of \$4,582.26, by Joseph Sawyer, contractor, under a building committee composed of Amory Holman, C. C. Moore, Joseph Sawyer, Jonathan Jewell, Stephen C. Pollard, and Joel Sawyer.

The house was remodeled in one of the styles of the Gothic. A light portico, covering the steps, and designed more for convenience than ornament, extended nearly across the front. The edifice was entered by two doors, which opened into a spacious vestibule, from which again two other doors opened into side aisles and the body of the church. The old galleries had been removed, and there were no side galleries, but only a light structure at one end, designed mainly for the choir, and supported by the framework of the bulwark, so as to leave the area below entirely unobstructed. Modern slip-pews were substituted for the former square ones, and a handsome high mahogany desk for the old-fashioned pine pulpit. The interior walls were



THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH, BUILT IN 1928

beautifully painted in fresco, in imitation of the chapter-house of York Cathedral, by Mr. Daniel M. Shephard of Salem. The exterior of the pews and of the gallery were painted to resemble English oak.

The re-dedication to the worship of God and the preaching of the Gospel took place on Thursday, December 26, 1844. The pastor, Mr. Edes, preached the sermon and Mr. Kinsley of Stow read the Scriptures, Reverend Mr. Sears of Lancaster made the Dedicatory Prayer, and Reverend Mr. Gilbert of Harvard, the Concluding Prayer. The day was a remarkably fine one.

The first child to be christened in the new meetinghouse was Christopher Columbus Moore, son of Nathaniel A. and Julia Newton Moore, who was christened on June 8, 1845.

During the summer of 1847, Reverend Richard Edes, in consequence of difficulties with members of the parish, gave notice of his intention to dissolve his connection with the First Parish in six months. The ministers of the Worcester County Association wrote the society expressing their deep regret and asking if something could be done to avert the event which they so much deplored. As a consequence, sixty-one of the ninety-five members of the church sent Mr. Edes a letter asking him to revoke his decision. The pastor withdrew his resignation. However, peace and harmony were not restored, and on June 25, 1848, Mr. Edes again gave notice of his intention to dissolve his pastoral connection. He left the Bolton ministry on December 25, 1848, but continued to live in the town until his death.

Since that time the ministers have remained only a few years. Reverend John J. Putman arrived to take over the pastorate in September, 1849. He resigned in June, 1852, to go to Petersham, and died in Worcester in 1912.

Dr. Thomas T. Stone, D.D., of Waterford, Maine, was the minister from 1852-1860. In his ministry, a monument to the memory of Reverend Isaac Allen was placed over the tomb containing his mortal remains, with an inscription as follows: "In memory of Rev. Isaac Allen A.M. born in Weston, Oct. 31, 1771 and died in Bolton March 18, 1844. Minister of the First Parish in Bolton XL years. Sincere, generous, hospitable, public spirited, patriotic, devout. Living a faithful Christian pastorate. Dying, a munificent benefactor. This stone is erected by the church, May 1860."

Nathaniel Otis Chaffee served from 1861 to 1862, and Edwin Clarence L. Brown, a native of Cambridge, was ordained at Bolton on April 22, 1863. Ezekiel Fitzgerald served the Bolton parish from October 1, 1870, to April, 1874.

Nicholas P. Gilman, a native of Quincy, Illinois, came to Bolton in 1875. He remained for three years, then went to Antioch College to become Professor of Ethics and English Literature. He died at Meadville, Pennsylvania, in 1912, where he had been Professor of Sociology and Ethics at the Theological School.

Mr. Cyrus A. Roys, a graduate of Meadville Theological School in 1878, came to Bolton to be ordained August 20, 1879. He remained until 1885, when he went to Nantucket. He served Bolton for five years and six months.

Mr. Isaac F. Porter of Wenham was ordained May 8, 1887. He remained for two years; then served in many parishes until 1914, when he became Minister Emeritus at Sherborn, where he died July 13, 1923, at the age of 84.

The next minister was Mr. Edwin C. Headle, of Weathersfield, Vermont, who came to Bolton as supply in 1890, this

being his sixth parish. He remained a year and acted as supply again from 1899 to 1900, when he retired because of ill health. Mr. Headle died in Bolton in 1926, at the age of seventy-six.

Henry M. Green, a native of Lancashire, England, and a graduate of Meadville Theological School, was ordained and installed at Bolton on January 14, 1891, and remained for a year, after which Mr. I. F. Porter served as temporary supply for nine months.

Mr. William Leonard, of Plainfield, New Jersey, came to Bolton in 1893. The church had been on a gradual decline for many years. Few records were kept and Mr. Leonard attempted to sum up the facts in his reports. In June, 1897, he made the following memorandum: "The members of the old church organizations are few and becoming fewer. Members numbered twenty at the time of my settlement. Eight were disabled by infirmities of age, and only twelve at this writing are able to attend. I observed communion a few times in the early months, then the silent method and a sermon on the subject took its place. Only once was it observed in the old way by passing the bread and the cup to communicants." The list of twenty is as follows:

Mrs. Catherine Caswell	Miss Caro M. Newton
Miss Frances C. Caswell	Mr. George B. Newton
Mrs. Jane H. Chamberlain	Miss Sarah Nourse
Mrs. R. S. Edes	Miss Louisa Jane Parker
Mrs. Sarah Learned	Mr. J. Elbridge Sawyer
Mrs. A. A. Lyman	Mrs. J. Elbridge Sawyer
Mrs. Lyman Moore	Mrs. Achsah Sawyer
Mrs. Horatio F. Newton	Mrs. Nathan Sawyer
Miss Fidelia C. Newton	Miss Lucy H. Sawyer
Mr. N. Avery Newton	Rev. Dr. T. T. Stone

Frederick Stone

Mr. Leonard stayed until May, 1898, after serving five years and three months. He died in Roxbury, on September 30, 1920. From 1899 to 1900, Reverend E. C. Headle was again the supply in the pulpit.

Reverend Joseph N. Pardee, a graduate of Harvard Divinity School in 1872, came to Bolton in 1900 to substitute for Mr. Headle, at \$5.00 a Sunday. This went on for seven months at \$8.00 a Sunday until in May, 1901, he was asked if he would accept a call at \$500 a year. He accepted with the provision the Parish move him from Arlington, which they did. Mr. Pardee states that when he came in 1900, there were only five living members of the church, three of them residing in town. There had been no church functions for several years.

A difficult problem was the state of anarchy created by the double organization, the parish and the church. After some discussion, the five members of the church came together and drew up a petition to the parish to amend its bylaws governing admission of members, adopt a covenant, or "Bond of Agreement," and make provision for observing church ordinances. With the help of a competent lawyer, the bylaws were amended by an article making eligible "any person of suitable age," reserving the right of voting in meetings of the corporation to persons of twenty-one years of age, as the law required. A simple covenant was adopted, provision was made for the appointment of stewards, and the pastor was authorized to extend the "right hand of fellowship" to new members. Participation in the ceremonies was made optional with the member. Thus, without in any way disturbing the legal machinery of the parish, the ancient "First Parish and Religious Society" was incorporated in 1905. The results were most salutary.

Practically all the young people of sixteen years and over were admitted, and many of the older people.

Mr. Pardee occupied the pulpit for twelve years until failing strength caused him to resign on October 4, 1912, when he became Pastor Emeritus. He is now in his 91st year and still very alert in all church affairs. He drives his automobile and attends all conferences in Worcester County and also the May meetings in Boston.

John Lewis Marsh of Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, succeeded Mr. Pardee. He was a graduate of Meadville Theological School in 1875, and came to Bolton for his seventh pastorate from November 1, 1912, until September 9, 1915. He died in Washington, D. C., in 1916 at the age of sixty-six.

The next three pastors were Mr. John A. Hayes, Mr. Walter G. W. Wolfe, and Mr. Charles T. Billings. Mr. John Alexander Hayes of Frederickton, New Brunswick, came to Bolton in 1916, serving until 1920. He served all his pastorates in Massachusetts and died in Brookline in 1927.

Walter George Washington Wolfe of Emaus, Pennsylvania, was graduated from Meadville Theological School in 1919 and was ordained and installed in Bolton on December 21, 1920, remaining until October 18, 1923.

Reverend Charles T. Billings became the commuting pastor on June 25, 1924. He lived in Belmont and came on the train to Hudson and was brought to Bolton by Mr. Legrand L. Brigham in his automobile. During the seven years he preached here, he was entertained and taken back to the afternoon train faithfully every Sunday by Mr. Paul Cunningham. He resigned in September, 1930.

On Monday morning, December 26, 1926, the community woke to find the church in flames. An overheated furnace

had started the blaze and nothing was saved. On December 31, the members of the church voted to undertake the building of a new meetinghouse, and an investigating committee was appointed. On January 12, 1927, the committee presented three plans with an estimate of \$25,000, as the probable cost. It was voted to build in the Colonial style, and a finance committee was chosen to undertake to raise \$16,000 by popular subscription, the insurance being less than \$9,000.

On April 4, the plan submitted by Edwin T. Chapin of Worcester was adopted and Mr. Chapin was chosen architect. The building committee, Perley B. Sawyer, Albert I. Pardee, Frank A. Wheeler, Frances C. Edes, and Reverend Charles T. Billings, was given all necessary authority. The contract was finally awarded to George F. Mathews of Hudson at \$25,444, but the cost actually ran to \$27,438.24. However, \$23,792 was pledged by the time the cornerstone was laid in September before a gathering of 300 residents and friends.

The dedication took place on October 14, 1928, and the dedicatory sermon was preached by Reverend Samuel A. Eliot, D.D., minister of the Arlington Street Church of Boston. The Friends' Society was represented by their pastor, Reverend Leslie Frazer. Reverend Edwin B. Dolan represented the Baptist Convention, and Reverend James Duncan, D.D., the Unitarian Conference. The act of dedication was read by the minister, Reverend Charles T. Billings.

There were many gifts to the new church. The organ presented by the General Gardner family was placed on the right side of the chancel, with the pipes on the left. The Unitarian Church of Westborough presented a bell similar

to the old one, which had been badly cracked when the steeple fell during the fire. The twenty-four-inch Colonial clock on the gallery was given by Professor George F. Swain "in memory of the Reverend Francis Charles Williams and Mary Gardner Williams who were devoted to the advancement of Liberal Religion."

Mr. Edward D. Emerson of Bolton and Mr. Abraham Bornstein of Hudson each gave a table. Mrs. Charles J. Sawyer gave the communion table, and Reverend Joseph N. Pardee the pulpit and lectern. The communion service, bought in 1845, was not burned, for it was in the home of the curator. A Bible was given by Mrs. Ellena B. Gage. An old trowel, believed to have been used on the foundation of the 1844 church, was found in the church ruins and was placed in a niche in the rear wall of the auditorium. The town purchased the clock which was placed in the church steeple.

The outside appearance of the new church is much like that of the old one. The inside, which seats 128 people, is painted white, with mahogany trim. The rear balcony has been left vacant, and the high pulpit has been replaced by a side pulpit.

IX

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Oliver Cromwell said, 'I see there is a people risen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places.'

GEORGE FOX

AN examination of the old records to find an historical account of Bolton Friends revealed nothing official previous to 1779, but town records during the years 1739 to 1745 have copies of certificates vouching for individual Quakers who came to settle in Bolton. Friends were soon meeting for worship on the Sabbath, but their membership remained in Salem Monthly Meeting. In 1779, they requested the privilege of holding a Preparative Meeting in Bolton, and the request was granted.

Such a meeting, according to the constitution of Friends, is subordinate to and directed by the Monthly Meeting to which it belongs. The Monthly Meeting is a regular organization of all persons entitled to membership, and has authority to act upon all questions affecting membership, and to hold and administer property. The name originated in the custom of meeting monthly for the transaction of business. Once in three months the Monthly Meetings send their reports and representatives to their Quarterly Meetings, which in turn are subordinate to the Yearly Meeting.

The land for the first Friends' Meetinghouse was given by John Fry from his farm. The lot appears to have been on the west side of the Bolton-Berlin road not far from the Fry Burying Ground. It contained one hundred



THE FRIENDS' MEETINGHOUSE

roads and was nearly square. The deed granted "the privilege to pass . . . to said Burying place with the dead the way that will accommodate best."

In 1784, the Bolton Preparative Meeting requested to be transferred from the Salem to the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting. Committees were appointed "to take the matter into solid consideration" in both Monthly Meetings, and the transfer was effected. Nine years later, in 1795, Bolton Preparative Meeting requested a new meetinghouse built at Bolton. A committee of Uxbridge Monthly Meeting, appointed "to go to Bolton and inspect into the circumstances of their case," recommended "a house built 34' in length, 28' in width, two stories high, to be set on the East side of the road nearly opposite John Fry's lane that leads to his house, and they have already subscribed 134 pounds." In January, 1797, the house was reported finished.

In the summer of 1798, Bolton Friends requested a Monthly Meeting. The matter was under consideration for some months, the Quarterly Meeting finally reporting that Bolton Preparative Meeting consists "of about twenty-two families containing about 130 members who appear to be well accommodated with a meetinghouse and schoolhouse near it and are conveniently situated round them to attend their meeting at home, but being about 25 miles from the place of holding the Monthly Meeting of Uxbridge to which they belong renders it impracticable for many of them to attend as often as it is desirable though they appear well disposed. . . . According to our judgment it may be safe for the Quarterly Meeting to indulge Friends of Bolton Preparative Meeting with a Monthly Meeting on trial with hopes that, if Friends there keep their places, it may be found useful to continue it." The first session of the

Monthly Meeting was held on the 29th of the fifth month, 1799, with Abraham Wheeler as clerk for the day. The first permanent clerks were Abel Houghton and Thomas Holder; and the first clerk of the Women's Meeting was Thankful Battey.

The custom of holding separate men's and women's meetings brought about the next change in the meetinghouse. "To better accommodate the Q. M." a committee was appointed in 1818, who reported that they "think it will be best for us to add 20 ft. to the meetinghouse, which with a partition will accommodate both departments of our Quarterly Meeting." The shutters forming this movable partition were lowered after the meeting for worship, dividing the house into two rooms of nearly equal size. The men occupied the east side of the building and the women the west side for the business session.

In the early years, the Friends maintained their own school. The town minutes of 1798 record that "The Friends already had a schoolhouse and maintained a school at their own charges"; also that a committee appointed "to converse with the friends" on their request to be set off as a squadron, to draw their proportion of the money for schooling, reported against the request.

A few items from the early monthly records are of interest: "1799 — The Meeting appointed David Southwick, Thomas Watson, and Thomas Holder to inspect into the state of our schools from time to time and to regulate them according to our discipline." "1st mo. 1800 — This Meeting thinks best that the Sch. Com. should proceed to set up a Man's sch. in Friends' sch. house in Bolton six weeks." The cost amounted to \$17.25. "11th mo. 1800 — The Sch. Com. presented an account of \$7.33 for Huldah Mowry

teaching school 7 weeks and 2 days.” “10th mo. 1802 — The Sch. Com. made report that they had set up two schools which have been circular twelve weeks, which they think were regulated agreeable to good order, the cost amounts to \$22 which the treasury is directed to pay.” “4th mo. 1804 — The Sch. Com. presented an account for Daniel Wheeler keeping sch. $8\frac{1}{2}$ weeks and boarding himself to the amount of \$28.33.”

From 1808 to 1852, it seems that Friends supported the summer school, when there was one, and the town the winter school. At the later date, 1852, the town assumed the whole expense and supervision, except that a Friend was appointed to the prudential committee.

The schoolhouse stood for many years on the opposite side of Wheeler road from the meetinghouse and a little farther east. In 1870, a committee was “appointed to sell and remove” it. It came into the possession of the town and was moved to a location on the west side of the Bolton-Berlin road a short distance north of the fork that leads to the meetinghouse. In 1833, a Monthly Meeting library was established. Further desire for comfort is evident in this minute of 1857 — “The Meeting was enformed that Martha Aldrich in her last will and testament had given the sum of \$50 to the Monthly Meeting for the purpose of procuring cushions for the meetinghouse.”

In 1872, a half century after the meetinghouse was enlarged, the following minute is recorded — “The committee on repairs of meetinghouse report that they were of the opinion that it was best to recommend a thorough repair of the house by shingling the north side and clapboarding throughout, dispensing with a portion of the windows, putting in new and larger ones for the remainder and that these

have blinds upon the outside. That the inside of the house be improved by removing the end galleries and partitioning off an entry way inside and have the two porches removed from the road outside. That all the seats in the body of the house be improved by making higher backs and that the high seats be remodeled so that there shall be but one rising seat and that the horse sheds be new-shingled," all of which was accomplished.

Another twenty-six years passed, and at the August Quarterly Meeting in 1898, the custom was begun of serving a public dinner at the home of Arthur V. Wheeler, the house nearest the meetinghouse. The difficulties attendant upon getting Friends from the meeting for worship to the dinner and back to the business meeting, and the discomfort of some poorly-sheltered horses aroused Mr. Francis Holder's interest in 1899. "In 3d mo., 1900," a minute reads, "Francis T. Holder having presented a sum of money to the meeting for the purpose of building a barn for the accommodation of horses at the meetinghouse — the said money to be given as a memorial to his mother, Ruth B. Holder — it was decided to accept the same." Again in 5th mo. of the same year — "This meeting having received a gift . . . from Francis T. Holder for the purpose of building a dining hall for the use of the meeting, we thankfully accept the same and shall proceed to apply it for the purpose intended by the donor."

Six years later, in 10th mo., 1907, "An offer of making some repairs and additions on our meetinghouse having been made by our friend, Francis T. Holder, it is concluded that we thankfully accept the same." At this time the porches were replaced on the front of the meetinghouse, restoring the exterior more nearly to its early appearance,

and church and barn were painted. In 1908, the old seats were replaced by those from the Worcester meetinghouse. No marked changes have been made since that time except the removal of the barn in 1931, when it was sold to the Babcock brothers and used by them in building a cottage near their homes.

Aside from the First Day morning meeting, Friends held a meeting for worship on the Fifth Day afternoon from a very early period until the fall of 1896, and an evening meeting after 1887. After 1864, and possibly as early as 1856, they maintained a "First Day School." In this school the adult classes used the Bible as their textbook. The younger folks were provided with a series of small bound volumes, entitled "Union Questions," published by the American Sunday School Union between 1827 and 1835. Hymn books were procured which contained no music. A record of 7th mo., 1864, says, "We read in the Hymn books in concert today . . . with very good success." "7th mo. 10th, 1864, I gave out 20 copies of the 'Well Spring' today and saw many happy faces while doing it." Jesse B. Wheeler seems to have been the first superintendent, "also secretary and treasurer," and David Babcock, Amos W. Collins, Reuben A. Wheeler, Henry E. Babcock, and Roena Wheeler the first teachers.

Throughout the middle years of the nineteenth century the minutes include urgent appeals to Friends to keep themselves clear on the slavery question. Being "clear" meant refraining from holding slaves and opposing the practice with all one's mental and spiritual powers, but did not permit the bearing of arms.

Soon after the war, Bolton Friends were helping to support a school for negroes (which is still maintained) at High

Point, North Carolina. Frank H. Clark was its principal for some years. Books telling of the suffering of Friends in the South were placed in the library in order that the younger generation might be informed.

Many protests were sent to senators, representatives, and executives, against increasing armament, military training, race prejudice, and the sale of intoxicants, and contributions went to organizations promoting peace and prohibition. During and after the World War, gifts of money and clothing were sent to the American Friends Service Committee.

Some marriages were solemnized after the manner of Friends, among them those of Thankful Wheeler and Jonathan Baker in 1784, Silas Coolidge and Phoebe Holder in 1799, Thomas W. Wheeler and Miriam Southwick in 1836, Samuel Wheeler and Sarah Holder in 1839, Joseph Randall and Mary A. Wheeler in 1840, Josiah C. Babcock and Joanna Wheeler in 1845, Thomas A. Wheeler and Susan C. Randall in 1848, Amos P. Kimmens and Joanna Babcock in 1853, Alfred Dow and Alice M. Wheeler in 1872.

Clerks who served for long periods were Thomas Fry, two terms of ten years each, John E. Fry, fifteen years, and Nathan Babcock, more than fifty years.

Members of the local meeting whose gifts in the ministry were recognized and approved by their fellow members were: Thomas Watson, Sarah Holder, Lydia Fry, Abel Houghton, Thomas Holder, Lucy F. Collins, Lydia B. Dow, and Alice M. Dow. In 1905, Albert Syze of Dover, New Hampshire, and in 1913, Alfred T. Ware of Iowa, Friends ministers, were received into membership and shared in the ministry. In 1922, the Meeting had its first salaried

minister, Walter J. Homan, a Friend who was then studying in Boston. In August, 1930, the meetings were merged with the Federated Church.

X

THE BAPTIST, HILLSIDE, METHODIST CHURCHES, AND THE FEDERATED CHURCH

Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who giveth us the churches.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

From the beginning, there were folk of Baptist convictions in the colonies, even among the regular church members. The First Baptist Church of Boston was organized in 1665, though its members were repeatedly fined, imprisoned, and prevented from worshiping in their meetinghouse. Soon after the beginning of the new century, 1700, the Baptists shared in the general toleration, and the church started to grow.

In Bolton, the Baptist Church was not organized until 1828, but the few Baptists among the residents became members of the Northboro and Still River churches before this time. In March, 1828, this group petitioned Jacob Haskell, a Justice of the Peace, to issue a warrant for calling a meeting of its members. The letter, which is the first entry in the old leather-covered record book of the church, reads as follows :

To Jacob Haskell Esqr. one of the Justices of the Peace in and for the County of Worcester :

We the subscribers, Inhabitants of the town of Bolton in said county and members of the denomination styled "Baptist" deeming it necessary for our existence to resolve ourselves into

a body politick agreeably to the statute in such cases made and provided for the transacting our concerns legally do hereby request you to issue a warrant for calling a meeting of said members to be held at the dwelling house of Henry Houghton, on Monday the 17th day of March, now present, at 2 O.C.K. P.M. to act on the following articles viz.

1. To choose a Moderator
2. To choose a Clerk
3. To choose a Committee
4. To act on any legal business which may be necessary for the interest, wellfare or anything relative to or appertaining to the concerns of said members or society or any votes needful thereto belonging.

Bolton, March 4th, 1828.

Sanderson Houghton	Jonas W. Holman
Josephus Houghton	Henry Houghton
Stephen Houghton	Henry Houghton, Jr.
William Houghton	Rufus Houghton
Abijah Houghton	Levi Holman
Jubal H. Haven	Nathaniel Holman
Israel Willis	

The warrant was issued, and Henry Houghton was requested to notify and warn all of the petitioners to meet at the designated time and place. We have the following record of the meeting :

The Baptist Society in Bolton met according to appointment.

1. Voted and chose Abijah Learned Moderator
2. Voted and chose Jonas W. Holman Clerk, who was duly sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties
3. Voted and chose Henry Houghton and Sanderson Houghton Committee
4. Voted and chose Josephus Houghton collector
5. Voted and chose Rev. Abisha Samson an invitation to preach the year ensuing
6. Voted to resolve the meeting.

At the meeting held April 25, 1831, it was voted to raise money for the support of the Gospel, by subscription, and in 1832 it was voted to empower the collector to lay out the money for preaching to the best advantage.

Despite the fact that these people had formally organized and had held their services in Bolton, the little group was still included in the membership of the Still River Church. Therefore, in August, 1832, sixteen members expressed a desire to be dismissed to an Ecclesiastical Council which would form the local church. Such a council was held June 19, 1833, at the home of Henry Houghton. The sixteen members were dismissed from the Still River Church, as were four from Northboro. The meeting was presided over by Reverend Abiel Fisher of Webster, who also preached the sermon of the day. Brethren came from the Worcester, Webster, Wendell, and Sutton churches.

After a "prolonged and satisfactory investigation of the views, prospects, and standing of the little company, it was unanimously voted to fellowship as a Church of Christ." The First Baptist Church was thus duly organized and publicly recognized. It became a part of the Worcester Baptist Association.

The original members were :

Henry Houghton	Mary Houghton	Elizabeth Ball
Rhoda Houghton	Elias Warner	Sarapta Moore
William Houghton	Mary Ann Warner	Abigail Houghton
Sanderson Houghton	Rhoda M. Houghton	Mary Ball
Anna Houghton	Charity Houghton	Parmelia Powers
Nancy Haven	Oliver Moore	William Ball
Jubal Haven	John Powers	

"Elder" Luther Goddard, a lay preacher and jeweler, became the first minister, making a weekly journey from

Worcester to Bolton for two years. Not only did he minister to the spiritual needs of his parish, but he was able to restore their timepieces as well. He must have depended upon this material labor for his income, as there is no evidence that he received a salary for his ministerial efforts.

For five years, the services were held alternately at the homes of Henry Houghton and Cornelius Moore. Mr. Houghton, who had been made a deacon in 1843, excavated and paved a baptistry near a spring in his pasture. Several were baptized there. The remains of this pool can still be found on land now owned by Mr. Roy Williams.

In 1838, the meetings were transferred to the Center Schoolhouse, and a little later to the Town House. When the Town decided to charge rent for this, the group again turned to the schoolhouse and to homes of members. The home of Brother Enoch Hall was opened to them.

We read that in 1841, measures were taken to provide a "neat, cozy, House of Prayer." The site chosen was the lot south of the old brick store where the potash works formerly stood. The building cost \$800, and a debt of \$200 remained until it was sold. The town later bought the building and it became the Center School. At the present time it is the Fire House.

There were years which were apparently hard for both pastor and parishioners, as evidenced by such records as these: "Rev. —— left after less than a year, not proving pleasant to himself or profitable to his hearers," or again, "his ministry was short, unprofitable, filled with sore trials and division of feelings." We learn that once an Ecclesiastical Council was necessary and once the Baptist State Convention came to the rescue. Despite the "trials and heart burnings," faith triumphed.

Under the leadership of Reverend Kilburn Holt, interest in a new meetinghouse was aroused in the 1860's. The present building was erected at a cost of \$5000, "beside much labor." Of this amount only \$150 came "from abroad." The Clinton Baptist Church was the largest donor, contributing the sum of \$100. The rest was subscribed locally, and the church, free of debt, was dedicated May 31, 1866.

In 1868, two of the brethren, Deacon Aaron Powers and Joel Proctor, purchased the property east of the Post Office (now owned by Mr. John Smith) for use as a parsonage. The description reads: "A good parsonage, near the church, together with a stable and about four acres of good land, affording a good garden, a mowing field, pasture and fruit so that there may be for the pastor a good house provided with bread for the eater, and seed for the sower." Other houses served at various times as the home of the minister. In 1904, the present parsonage was purchased from the Parker estate. Reverend and Mrs. Frank A. Pride were the first to live there.

Although there are many records of appropriation of money for the upkeep of the church building, by 1920 it was evident that extensive repairs or alterations were necessary. The edifice was too large and was extremely difficult to heat in the winter. The advice of an architect was sought and his suggestions carried out.

The remodeled building was rededicated to the worship of God on July 28, 1921. Many people attended the "Old Home Day" of the church, and a social time, with a picnic dinner, was held on the lawn of the parsonage. The formal church service of dedication followed, with this interesting program: —



THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH



THE OLDEST PICTURE OF BOLTON



THE HILLSIDE CHURCH

Prelude — Miss Elizabeth Hurlbut of Framingham

Doxology

Invocation

Scripture — Rev. W. G. W. Wolfe of the First Parish Church

Solo — Mrs. Marguerite Franklin

Prayer — Rev. J. H. Barrows of Marblehead

Greetings — Mrs. Alice Dow of the Friends Society

Church History — Written by Mrs. Martha T. Randall, read by
Miss Helen R. Rowe

Song — *The Little White Church*, by quartette: Rev. E. B. Dolan,
Mr. E. E. Hurlbut, Miss E. M. Campbell, Miss E. P. Hurlbut

Sermon — Rev. Edwin B. Dolan of Boston

Benediction — Rev. George E. Crouse of East Dedham

The church history read at this time was written by Mrs. Martha T. Randall, the full title being "A Brief History of the Baptist Church of Bolton, a report read at the Wachusett Baptist Association in South Gardner, September 8 and 9, 1869."

The expense for the repairs was nearly as great as the original cost of building, and at the time of rededication there was a debt of \$2000. With great effort, this was reduced, year by year, until the debt was cleared. The mortgage was burned at a special meeting in November, 1926.

In going over the records, one name which stands out for many years is that of Deacon Aaron Powers. The history of the Baptist Church would not be complete without mentioning his long faithful devotion to it. The son of one of the charter members, he joined at an early age, serving in many ways until 1875, when, upon the death of his father, he succeeded him as deacon. He, too, held this office until his death in 1905. Five generations of this family have been connected with the church.

The church is proud of the fact that the Reverend Edwin B. Dolan, now Field Secretary of the Massachusetts Baptist

Convention, was once one of its members. It was this church which granted him, at his request, a license to preach. His work has spread from a local parish to a field of wider scope; he is one of the denominational leaders, and is also connected with the State Federation of Churches.

The Church School, or Sunday School, was organized by Deacon John Powers in 1843, and has ever played an important part in the life of the church. In the early 1900's the Beginners' Department was made happy with a low table and small chairs. Blackboards, chalk, and other inexpensive materials made handwork possible. Perry pictures added interest to the Bible stories. The small members of this group were cognizant of the meaning of the words which they recited, "I was glad when they said unto me, 'let us go into the House of the Lord.'"

The Ladies' Aid, known until 1909 as the "Sewing Circle," was an important factor in the life of the church. Not only did the organization assist the church in many ways, both spiritually and materially, but through its missionary endeavors it responded to the needs of those nearby and those in the foreign field. Church suppers, lawn parties, auctions, quilting bees, fairs, and food sales were some of the many activities which helped to swell the treasury of this group, and in turn the treasury of the church.

Another organization of great value was the Young People's Christian Endeavor Society. The Sunday Evening Service, conducted by the young people, gave many their first opportunity to conduct a meeting, while the socials helped stimulate the spirit of friendliness. Through its affiliation with the Washburn Union and the State Society, the Christian Endeavor Society made many interesting and helpful contacts. There was a feeling of satisfaction and

obligation in the knowledge that this group, though small, was a part of a large organization whose influence is nationwide.

The First Baptist Church of Bolton now approaches its one hundred and fifth birthday. Twenty-seven ministers and eight deacons have served this church. Two meeting-houses have been built and remodeled. At the present time there are forty-five members, twenty-seven of whom are resident.

MINISTERS WHO HAVE SERVED THE BAPTIST CHURCH

Elder Luther Goddard . . . 1833	Rev. Andrew Read . . . 1883
Rev. Levi M. Powers . . . 1836	Rev. Charles P. Martin . . 1890
Rev. Isaac Carpenter . . . 1843	Rev. W. A. Atchley . . . 1891
Rev. John Walker . . . 1844	Rev. L. E. Scharf . . . 1891
Rev. P. S. Whitman . . . 1846	Rev. W. L. Stone . . . 1903
(ordained Jan. 4, 1847)	Rev. F. A. Pride . . . 1904
Rev. Asaph Merriam . . . 1848	Rev. George E. Crouse . . 1908
Rev. W. K. Davey . . . 1856	(ordained July, 1908)
(ordained Oct., 1856)	Rev. Roy B. Bowers . . . 1911
Rev. J. H. Giles . . . 1858	Rev. J. H. Barrows . . . 1913
(ordained Jan., 1858)	Rev. Paul E. Alden . . . 1919
Rev. J. H. Learned . . . 1860	Rev. Elizabeth Campbell . 1921
Rev. K. Holt . . . 1863	Rev. Elisha Newell . . . 1925
Rev. J. Barber . . . 1868	Rev. Samuel Merriman . . 1926
Rev. Benjamin Edwards . 1872	Rev. George E. Jaques . . 1928
Rev. George B. Fitz . . . 1880	

THE HILLSIDE CHURCH

The Hillside Church was an outgrowth of S. V. S. Wilder's determination to keep the evangelical faith alive, even in the midst of strong Unitarian communities. Having found a few others who were interested in the same project, he inserted the following notice in the first issue of the *Lancaster Gazette*, March 4, 1828:

NOTICE

Those persons residing in the towns of Sterling, Lancaster, Bolton, and Stow who are desirous of co-operating in erecting a House which is to be built in a central place in this region for the worship and service of the One Living and True God Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are respectfully invited to meet at the residence of S. V. S. Wilder in Bolton on Wednesday 5th inst. (tomorrow) at 2 o'clock P.M. for the purpose of adopting such measures as will, with the blessing of God, accomplish this object.

(Signed) S. V. S. Wilder
William Stedman
Henry Ballard

In the meantime, a Baptist gentleman had headed the list of subscribers with \$300, and Wilder quickly added \$3300. He also offered "4 or 6 acres" from his farm for a building site, the land to be taken anywhere except in front of his house.

The cornerstone was laid, with appropriate ceremony, on Wednesday, July 9, 1828, and the *Lancaster Gazette* for July 15, 1828, gives an account of the service. About seven hundred persons were present, and Reverend Mr. Vaill of Brimfield preached the sermon. Among other things placed within the cornerstone, were several religious tracts, a list of names of the builders and workmen engaged in "raising" the structure, and "100 incontrovertible arguments for believing in the divinity of Jesus." On the stone were the words, "Erected for the worship of Jehovah; Father — Son and Holy Ghost. Anno Domini 1828."

The work progressed rapidly, and on August 12, 1828, the *Lancaster Gazette* tells of the "raising." Reverend Mr. Green of Boston preached the first sermon "within the frame." The paper comments, "We understand no ardent spirit was used by the workmen during the raising." Before

the next issue on August 19th, a paper called *The Galaxy* had copied the above item with several caustic comments, "Mr. Wilder, patron and chief owner . . . gave each man employed 25 cents a day as compensation for abstinence from ardent spirit. What virtue there is in temperance bought at *such a price* we have not sagacity enough to discover." It went on to say that those not interested in the extra twenty-five cents daily found no difficulty in obtaining their "ardent spirits," as a "tent was put up in a nearby field where all liquors were sold as usual."

The *Gazette*, the next week, devoted nearly a column to putting the *Galaxy* in its place. It admitted that the laborers had exhibited no special virtue, since they abstained for the sake of the money. Still, it pointed out, the experiment was valuable, for it had proved that such work could be done more satisfactorily without stimulants than with them. Not a single person had been hurt during the erection of the building, an unusual record for those days. Also, the *Gazette* stated that, though there were five hundred people present at the time of the raising "scarcely \$2 worth of liquor was sold." Finally, said the *Gazette*, the attitude expressed by the *Galaxy* might do great harm to the cause of temperance, except that its "uncharitable, unchristian spirit" would be enough to condemn it in the eyes of most people.

The building had every luxury and convenience known to that day. It was large enough, at least, so that on occasion of a revival meeting "some three hundred persons rose as an expression of their desire for prayer." An interesting feature was the "Nicodemus" seats, named for the Pharisee who came to see Jesus by night, which were within hearing of the services, but out of sight of the audience. There were

three rooms in the basement, two of which were fitted up as reading rooms and supplied with religious publications. During the preparations for the new church, a singing school was conducted at Mr. Wilder's expense, and books provided, so that when the church opened, there was a trained choir to assist with the services.

The church was "constituted" with eighteen men and eighteen women on March 17, 1830. The last issue of the short-lived *Lancaster Gazette*, April 13, 1830, carried the notice of the ordination, which took place next day, of Reverend Doctor John W. Chickering, as first pastor.

In 1831, a series of revival meetings was held which more than doubled the membership; and its effects were felt in all the four towns represented. The meetings took place in August, and were evidently "the last straw" to the Unitarians of the region, since it was in the same month that the letter from the angry men in South Lancaster, which is quoted in Chapter XXIV, was sent to Mr. Wilder. In this connection it may be noted that Doctor Chickering says in his book, *Hillside Church*, that this group was the "parent stock" from which sprang all other Evangelical churches in the region; that "this church at first stood alone as the representative of the faith of the fathers."

The church was active for a few years, through the four pastorates of Doctor Chickering, Reverend John S. Davenport, Reverend Mr. Peabody, and Reverend Henry Adams. But though it occupied a central position, it was a long distance from all the villages it served. Groups of people in the different regions, in time, organized to have meetings for worship nearer home, and gradually, after Mr. Wilder's departure from Bolton, Hillside Church was abandoned. The final gathering was "about the going down of the sun

on Sabbath afternoon July 10, 1859." A large crowd assembled for the last time in the building, and the final service was conducted, appropriately enough, by Reverend Doctor Chickering, who had been the first pastor.

THE METHODIST SOCIETY

The members of the Methodist Society commenced their meetings, assembling at the Town House, in 1859. They had a full attendance, but their paying members were few. Warren C. Brown, a young man of promise, was their minister, and the spirit prevailing was excellent. Mr. Brown, however, sickened and died of pulmonary consumption, after a residence here of about two years, and the society disbanded and scattered into other societies of this and other towns.

THE FEDERATED CHURCH

On February 28, 1931, the three churches of Bolton, the First Parish Church, the Baptist Church, and the Society of Friends, united to form a Federated Church. By this arrangement, each society retains its own identity in denominational affairs. The Federation is a voluntary association for the purposes of local work and worship. A general committee, composed of three members from each society, plans the activities of the Federation.

Services are held in the new church building of the First Parish, this being best suited for efficient parish work. Reverend George E. Jaques, formerly pastor of the Baptist church, is the minister of the Federated Church. The Federation has proven successful because of the willingness of the members of three distinct denominations to work together for a common cause.

XI

BURYING GROUNDS

I like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls
The burial ground God's Acre!

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

EARLY SETTLERS' TOMB

ON the farm of John Hopkins, near West Pond, is an ancient tomb. This tomb has been viewed by students from several universities and by antiquarians, who place the date of its building as prior to the incorporation of Bolton. It is the so-called Corn Hill type of tomb, which dates around 1700. The tomb has been open for many years, and is now nearly empty.

However, fifty or sixty years ago on its shelves were several coffins which had crumbled almost to dust. The bones inside the coffins were white and bleached. It has been supposed that this tomb was constructed by the Sawyer family, and that John Sawyer, aged twenty-one, is buried therein; but that theory will hardly hold in face of the fact that Benjamin Sawyer first bought the place in 1791. Benjamin's son, John, lived to a ripe old age, and John's son, John F., died in 1898, aged seventy-three.

It is now thought that this may have been a community tomb in the days before the incorporation of Bolton. A number of families lived along the Bay Path, the County Road (Long Hill) and in what is now the east part of the

town. The nearest burying ground was on the Old Common in Lancaster, and in winter that must have been a "Sabbath Day's journey" over icy paths and through deep drifts. Doubtless the old tomb was used when circumstances forbade the long trip to Lancaster.

THE OLD BURYING GROUND

Burials previous to 1740 were probably made in Lancaster or in private family burial grounds, as there is no record of a town cemetery before this time. At a town meeting on the 17th day of March, 1739, "It was put to Vote whether the Town would Chose a Com^{tee} To provide a Burying place in Bolton, it pass't in the Affirmative and John Moor, Junr, William Pollard, and Benjamin Atherton were chosen to be said Committee."

It was probably not thought necessary to record the action of the committee, as no appropriation of money was required. A suitable spot was given by William Sawyer from his 300-acre farm, in what is now the south part of Bolton, but which was, in 1740, nearly the center. By a singular coincidence, William Sawyer was the first to be buried there. His gravestone bears the earliest date in the burying ground.

The very oldest stones in the South Cemetery are slabs of ordinary rock, crudely cut out and lettered by hand. It was not until about 1750 that slate stones were common. Although every bit of available space in the oldest part of this burying ground has been used, there are many graves that are not marked. All the stones were set facing the west "looking toward the sunset."

An addition to this cemetery was made in 1871. This was surveyed by Roswell Barrett and contained 207 new lots, a large number of which have been taken.

Below are copies of a few epitaphs from the oldest stones :

Here lies buried
y^e body of Mr
William Sawyer
who departed
this life
February y^e 3^d
A.D. 1740-41 in
y^e 62^d year
of his age

Here lies buried
y^e body of
Mr John Moor
who departed
this life July
y^e 27th A.D. 1740
& was about
79 years old

When this you see,
remember me

Here lies buried
Body of Mr
Jonathan Whitcomb
who departed
this life
Octobr y^e 7th
A.D. 1743

Age 41 years
5 m & 15 ds

Here lies buried
y^e Body Of
Mrs Sarah Gates
Y^e wife of Mr
Paul Gates who
departed this
Life Febry Y^e 6th

5
A.D. 1744 age
16 years 1 m 16 ds

Here lies buried
y^e body of Thomas
Whitcomb, son of
Quartermaster
Josiah and Mrs
Ruhamah Whitcomb
who dec^d
July y^e 20th
A.D. 1747
Age 1 yr
11 m and 20 ds

These verses are copied from some of the old stones :

Behold me now as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me

Death is a debt that I have paid
And you with me must soon be laid

Past middle age behold I die
Dear friends prepare, for death is nigh
This grave my home, here I must rest
Till Christ shall call me from the dust.

My partner dear do not complain
Yours is the loss but mine the gain
He lent me you but for a time
And now he takes me in my prime.

Dry up your tears nor for me grieve
'Tis well you've reason to believe
Indeed our God doth all things well
And so my loving friends farewell.

Mrs. Elizabeth Whitcomb

Age 24

Her life was goodness, heavenly was her mind
In blooming youth, to heav'n she felt resigned
Here now she dwells in never ending joy
Where Time or Eternity will not destroy.
Her flight is mourned by friendships lovliest ties,
Yet trusts she dwells in bliss above the skies.

Reverend Thomas Goss was buried here, and a large stone in the shape of a table, with a lengthy inscription in Latin, marks his grave. General John Whitcomb, the outstanding military man of this vicinity during the French

and Indian Wars and the Revolution, lies buried beneath an unpretentious slate stone. No mention is made on the stone of his military title; he is called John Whitcomb, Esquire. Age and dates are given and beneath is the inscription, "Blessed are the Peacemakers for they shall be called the Children of God."

THE OLD FRY BURYING GROUND

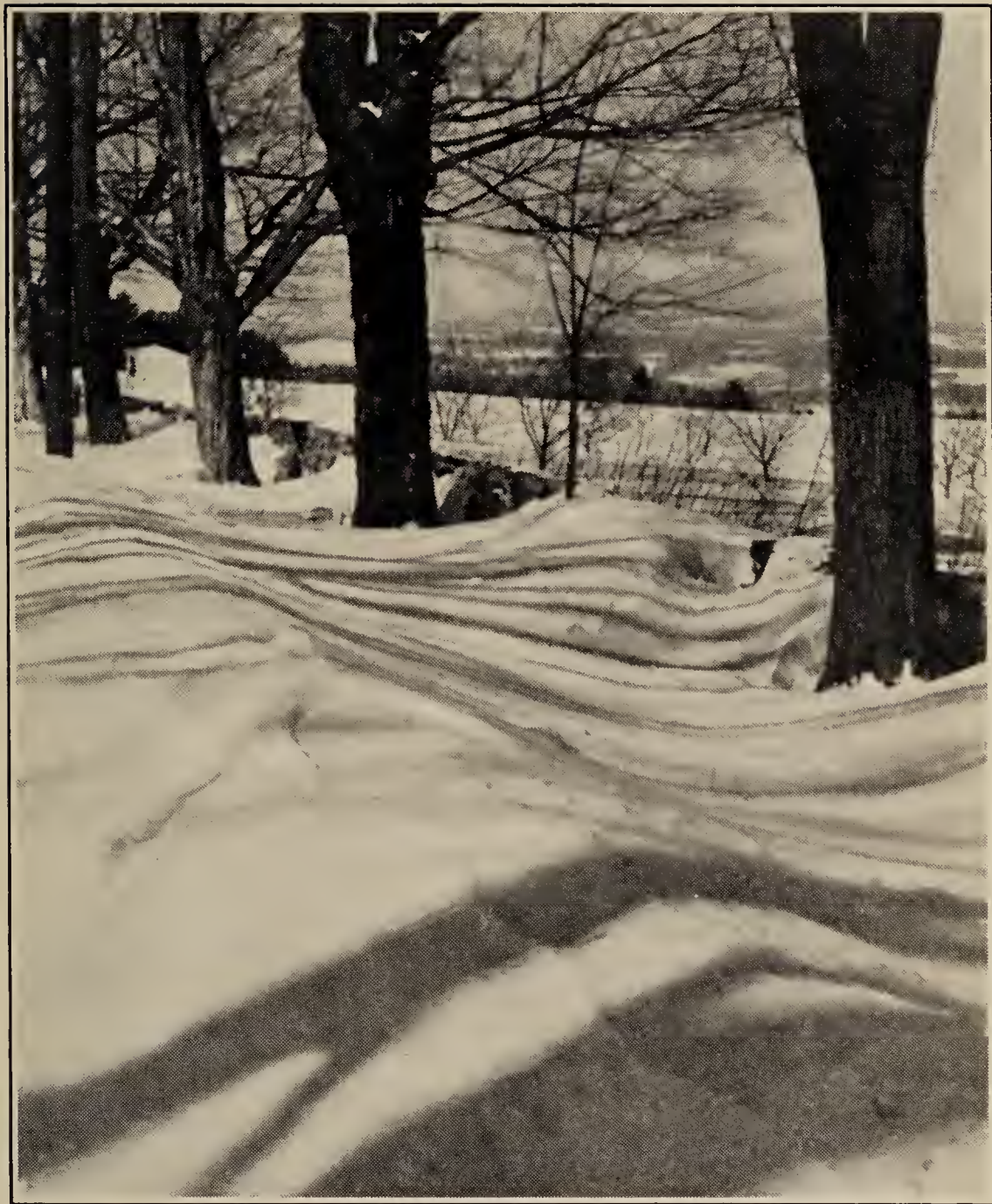
The Fry Burying Ground is the second oldest cemetery in Bolton. This is the plot where the Friends or Quakers buried their dead from the time of their first settlement in Bolton until about 1840. It is a secluded spot, at least fifty yards from the Berlin road, to be reached only by crossing a field now belonging to Merwin P. Hall.

Upon reaching the enclosed quarter-acre on the top of a little knoll, the visitor may be somewhat surprised at the absence of gravestones or markers, there being only six or eight, all of recent origin. This peculiarity is explained by the belief of the Friends, for their faith led them to believe that when a person died his spirit passed on, leaving the old worn-out body, like a butterfly bursting its chrysalis. So they took no pains to mark the spot where the soul's erstwhile dwelling had been laid.

In this belief the Quakers differed from their Calvinistic neighbors, whose epitaphs frequently refer to the body's occupancy of the grave "'till Gabriel's trumpet wakes the dead."

No family lots were laid out in the burying ground, but all were buried side by side, according to the order of their death.

In 1926, the Fry graveyard was taken over by the town



And Winter robing with pure snow and crowns
Of starry ice the gray grass and bare boughs. . . .

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

as a family lot, to receive perpetual care. One hundred dollars had been given to the Society of Friends for this purpose by Thomas Fry, grandson of John Fry from whose farm the cemetery was originally given to the Friends Society.

PAN CEMETERY

The land for the Pan cemetery was purchased from Oliver Barrett on May 6, 1822, for one hundred dollars. It contained one acre, 208 rods. One of the oldest stones in the cemetery reads as follows :

In
Memory of
Thomas Osborn
son of
Mr. Ephraim Osborn
who died
Aug 23 1823
Æt 19
Firmly confined in death's embrace
The sprightly youth here ends his race
His lovely form must here be laid
Till Gabriel's Trumpet wakes the dead

Among the many other old stones may be found the following two, of a more recent date, but nevertheless of interest :

Nathan Corey
son of Mr. George &
Mrs Sarah Sawyer
died Aug 29 1829
Æt 6 months
"Sleep on sweet babe and take thy rest
God called thee home when
he thought best"

Quincy A
 son of Elias &
 Mary Ann Warner
 died April 14, 1834
 aged 7 yrs 5 mos
 & 9 ds

“Let worms devour my wasting flesh
 And crumble all my bones to dust
 My God will raise my frame anew
 At the revival of the just”

At the eastern end of the Pan Cemetery are six tombs, all dated 1839. In the first one are the mortal remains of Reverend Isaac Allen, pastor of the First Parish for forty years. Above the tomb stands a small white monument which was erected by the church.

A small piece of land was added at the western end sixty or seventy years ago. It is the width of one double lot and as deep as the rest of the cemetery. With the exception of one lot, the piece of land was taken up by the Houghton family and their descendants.

THE WEST CEMETERY

The land for the West Cemetery, one acre, eighty rods, was bought from Thomas and Silas Welsh in 1822, the same date as the purchase of the Pan Cemetery. There are five tombs dated 1835.

The oldest stone in the burying ground reads as follows :

In Memory of
 Jonas Houghton
 Son of Major Jonas and
 Mrs. Eunice Houghton
 who died
 Mar 9 1804
 Æt 4 years & 1 month

Major Jonas Houghton lived in the house now owned by Everett Rowe, and it may be possible that this plot of land was used as a private burying ground by the Houghtons, years before its purchase by the town.

The two earliest stones after the purchase of this plot by the town read as follows :

Tabitha
wife of
Israel Woodbury
died
Oct 30 1822
Æt 34 yrs 11 ds.

In Memory of
Mrs Rebekah Nurse
Wife of
Dea. David Nurse
who died
Mar 26 1823
Æt 84

In this cemetery are buried members of the Haynes family, Silas Haynes, Francis Haynes, and many of their families, including Miss Mary Elizabeth Haynes, who was a nurse during the Civil War. Here is the monument of David Whitney and his son Captain Joseph, in whose memory the Whitney Memorial Library was given to the town. The grave of Deacon Henry Houghton, one of the founders of the Baptist Church, is in this cemetery ; and there are a number of others of the Houghton name. On the stone of Frank E. Houghton, a member of the first Regiment, U. S. Artillery, who was killed in a battle in Virginia, appears the following verse :

Not here thy grave lost darling son
Not o'er thy dust we weep,
But evermore shall mourning hearts
Thy memory fondly keep.

Three generations of Fyfes, once a prominent family in Bolton, are buried beneath a tall grey monument. Three generations of Newtons, the family of Horatio and Rebecca,

are buried nearby. The Howards and the Barnards, the Whitcombs and the Athertons are all represented.

Probably the most interesting monument in this cemetery is that of George Grassie, who lived in the house now owned by Dr. Lawrence F. Burke. This monument of red stone tells its own story :

George Grassie / Born at Gartley Aberdeenshire / Scotland
Feb 16, 1788 / Migrated to Halifax N S in 1813 / Married
Apr 30, 1822 / Elizabeth Field the Mother / Of his children
from whom he was / Not parted till his death. / In 1828 on the
Demise of his / Father, went back to the old home / The Mains
of Kildrummey / Returned to this continent in 1848 / And
took up his abode on / The Hillside in Bolton and / Here died
Feb 23 1875

Beneath are a few lines regarding Elizabeth Field Grassie, his wife, who was born in London and died in Bolton. On the other side of the monument is this epitaph :

Born a true Briton, long before he died
He claimed New England for his home with pride.
From Aberdeen to Bolton hills he came
A grazier — Grassie his ancestral name.
A spice of Scotland in his veins he bore,
For knowing men he lived with nature more;
Some years he toiled with them, but in the mart
Pined for the brake, the heather had his heart.
So here he settled, oft at sunset hour
The west could win him with a magic power.
In blue Wachusett and Monadnoc's crest
He saw those hills where first he found his nest,
And then remembering that his children dwelt
Beyond the prairies, how his heart would melt
To think how much of this round world had been
Of his life's drama the contented scene.
What better word to write above his sod
Than his one thought of "Gratitude to God."

THE FRIENDS' CEMETERY

In 1844, James N. and Ruth Fry deeded to the Society of Friends a plot of ground to be used as a burying ground. This cemetery was cared for by the Society until 1925, when, upon their request, it was taken over by the town.

The two earliest stones are the following :

Jonathan Wheeler	Ruth F
died	wife of William H
3rd Mo 5th	WOOD
1845	died 12 month 30
Æt 25 yrs.	1845
We have loved him on	Æt 24 yrs.
earth may we meet	
him in heaven.	

One marker, crudely cut from a common slab of rock, intrigues the imagination. On the headstone in three-inch letters are the initials A. W., nothing more. There is a small "footstone," but it is not marked. This is beside the graves of Elizabeth and Miriam Wheeler. There are many other Wheeler family lots here, as well as those of the Southwicks, the Holders, the Babcocks, the Evans, the Frys, the Jacobs, the Blisses, the Kimmenses, the Joseph and Stephen Randall families, and the Greeley Dow, George Dow and Alfred Dow families.

There are several verses on stones in this cemetery whose writer was doubtless "The Rustic Bard" (Amos Collins) although his nom-de-plume appears beneath only one verse, on the stone of his son Abel, who died in Andersonville Prison during the Civil War at the age of 17 :

No worldly pomp or mortal strife
 Shall wake thy peaceful slumber more
 But raised anew to endless life
 Thy feet now range a happier shore.

On the stone in memory of Mary W., wife of Otis H. Kendall, is the following, probably also from the pen of the "Rustic Bard":

Her body slumbers in the tomb
Her spirit dwells in heaven
In that bright world for which so long
Her weary soul has striven
And a new harp with music sweet
Is swept by unseen fingers
Within whose joyous glorious strains
No note of sorrow lingers.

XII

ROADS

Old roads winding, as old roads will.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

THE first roads in New England are named by the early court records "trodden paths." They were narrow trails, less than two feet wide, carpeted with pine needles and fallen leaves, over which the moccasin-shod Indians filed silently through the forest. But these trails were soon deepened and worn bare by the hobnailed shoes of the white settlers, while other paths were formed by the tread of domestic cattle. The trails gradually developed into bridle paths for horses, slowly grew into rugged lanes, and finally became roads for the purpose of ordinary traveling.

The oldest trail in this vicinity is undoubtedly the Bay Path which diverged at Wayland, passed through Nobscott settlement in Framingham, then on to Marlborough. It was, without doubt, a trail which led the traveler to the summit of Wataquadock Hill in Bolton, from which he had his first view across the wooded valley to the shapely dome of Wachusett in the west and northward to the sharp cone of Monadnock.

From numerous early deeds, it is quite certain that the Bay Path had two alternate routes through Bolton. One came up from Stow, following what is now the main road to the Mentzer farm, then along the back road to the foot of Long Hill and through the center of the town, joining the

other main branch of Bay Path beyond the Wilder Mansion ; the other route came from Marlborough, or what is now Hudson, through South Bolton over Spectacle Hill by the mills and leading over Wataquadock Hill by what is still known as Bay Path Road. This road is frequently referred to as the Old Marlborough Road, and seldom as Bay Path. It is without doubt the oldest road, and is probably the route over which the first settlers came to this vicinity.

The main roads in Bolton were laid out, for the most part, while the town was still part of Lancaster. Not many of the early Lancaster records are available and the description of the roads is such that it is almost impossible to place them, but a few can be located. The Old Marlborough Road was laid out in 1656, from the center of Lancaster, and was described as follows : "and so over the Penacook River, and so over the interval and through Swan's Swamp, where the town hath already marked out a highway for themselves, and so along to a little pine tree on the north side of Wataquadock Hill and so along the path," meaning the Bay Path. At about the same time the old Groton Road, which approximately follows Route 110, was laid out.

In 1720, roads were laid out from the Bay Path ; one, probably the present Berlin Road, went over Wheeler Hill into what is now Berlin ; and the other led through Hog Swamp. The next year a road was run from Sprague's corner in Still River over the "Green" by the old Houghton place, down the back side of the hill, and along the back way, coming out onto the Bay Road at the present corner below the lime kiln.

In 1724, Long Hill Road was laid out from the Bay Path, about one hundred rods up the hill. This is the last mention of highways laid out in the Bolton section of Lancaster



A BOLTON ROAD



POND PARK

until after Bolton was set off, but it must be remembered that many private roads and bridle paths were also in use, which are not mentioned in the records. Many of these bridle paths and private roads were in use for probably ten or fifteen years before they were laid out by the town, and petitions were often refused many times before the roads were taken over by the town.

Soon after the erection of the first meetinghouse, a road was laid out which followed closely the present Harvard road over the Green until it intersected the early road laid out in 1721; in 1749, this was extended via Bare Hill to the Harvard line. In this same year the road over Long Hill was extended about one hundred rods, and one year later it was continued to the Marlborough line, or what is now Hudson. Also at the other side of the town, where houses had recently been built, the road which leads from Groton Road over Vaughn's Hill and across to the "old Moor place" now owned by Mr. Clapp, was laid out by the town. The next year, in order that Nathaniel Wilson, who lived at Nourse's Corner on the Groton Road, might more easily come to meeting, the road was extended from his house to that of James Snow, who lived near the Bolton annex of the State School.

During the next ten years, few roads of any great length were laid out, most of the work being confined to the alteration of existing roads. In 1764 the town again laid out the Old Marlborough road. Whether this was an oversight on the part of the selectmen it is hard to say, because this road had already been laid out by the proprietors of Lancaster. It is described in the town book as follows: "a Road or way Five Rods wide it Begins at the Great Road west of David Moors House (near Butler's cider mill) at a

pine tree and Runs easterly thru said Moors Land So Between Thomas Balls House and Barn (near the Greenleaf place) and then by Daniel Greenleaf then by Joshua Moors and Abraham Moors So through Said Abrahams Land till it comes over the Dam at the lower end of John Pearse meadow and Still through said Abrahams Land till it crosses the Brook on the Old Dam above the Saw Mill then over a Ridge Hill So through Sundry mens Land till it comes over the Dam Below Specticle Meadow So called then thru Several parsons Land untill it comes to Marlborough Line Northerly of Capt. Barnards Land all the way whare the Parth is now trod on Land Formerly Left for a highway.”

For the convenience of those people living on the farther side of the Green, the so-called “Town House Road” was in use for many years, but it was not until 1764 that it was officially laid out by the town. Also in this same year the road from the corner at Taylor’s blacksmith shop was laid out for about one hundred rods to “Israel Greenleaf’s House,” which road was eventually connected to the corner where the Town House Road joins the old road over the Green.

From this time on, the state and county figure largely in the construction of roads. Following is the clerk’s copy of an order passed on the petition of the Selectmen of Bolton :

In the House of Representatives June ye 19th 1766, Resolved that the Prayer of the Petision be Granted and all those ways mentioned therein which have Been Laid Out by the Select men and accepted by the Town of Bolton Notwithstanding the ommission of any Clark of Said Town in Making a Record of the acceptance thereof by said Town and also other ways which have been accepted by Said Town in making a Record of the

acceptance thereof by said Town and also the other ways which have been accepted by said Town on a General clause in the warrant without any particular Discription of the Same be and hereby are Established and Confirmed as Town ways to all Intents and Purposes the aforesaid defects Notwithstanding.

The county began its system of roads at this time, and there were three different routes which went through Bolton, as may be seen on the 1794 map of the town which was required by the state. These were the Groton Road, which was the post road to Worcester; the main road through the town from Lancaster, over the hill by the Wilder Mansion and down the main road to Stow, the post road from Lancaster to Boston; and the road near West Pond which branched off the Boston Post Road and led over Long Hill to what was then Marlborough.

Considerable opposition was raised by the town to these county roads, probably because of the taxes for their upkeep. In 1786, the following articles were put before the town meeting :

To see If the Town will Chuse a Commity to apply to the Sesans [meetings of the County Commissioners in Worcester] for Som Releaf Respecting the County Roads Being Laid threw this Town, and also that no money be raised for the county roads which were laid through the Town over Long Hill and in the southern part of the Town.

This controversy over the county road on Long Hill and toward Stow lasted for many years and flamed up again in 1815, when a Memorial was sent to the Worcester Court contesting a petition by the inhabitants of Stow for having a highway in Bolton —

from the Gravel Pit, so called, to the line of the County of Middlesex in the direction of Hale's Corner in said Stow . . .

in their sincere belief no public utility or advantage was to be obtained, as the road if laid out will pass over a hill of almost inaccessible ascent for teams and carriages, will be shunned by the traveller when he can now pass on a level route and well made road.

Their idea of a "well made road" differed greatly from our conception of one today. There were certain periods in the year when travel was impossible even on the county roads, as the *History of Worcester County* testifies: "the Great Road from Lancaster to Boston which leads over Wattoquodock Hill upon its declivity, where it is very moist consisting of clay and loam, sensibly felt by the travelers in the wet seasons of the year."

By this time most of the roads in Bolton had been laid out and few more are mentioned in the town records. In 1820, the main road through the center of the town was repaired and straightened, the greatest change being from Taylor's blacksmith shop to Mentzer's, where the road was made to follow the brook as it does today. Nearly twenty years later, the road past Dr. Clapp's house was changed to go around the foot of the hill instead of over the top. In 1835, the road from the Friends' Meetinghouse to the Moor Farm was built, and a few years later a road was built from Rufus Randall's to where the Schartners now live. Due to lack of travel this road was discontinued after having been in use only fifteen years.

When the road was built from the old Brigham place to the main road at Horseshoe Pond, the Town House Road was discontinued, and there was also a private road which started about opposite the road at Horseshoe Pond and led over to Little Pond and from there branched off and came out by Century Mills.

From that time to the present, there is no mention of any new roads, and except for minor straightenings and alterations the roads are the same today. Thus we have a quiet rural community, not troubled by any serious amount of traffic, and still not far from the larger cities of the state.

XIII

SCHOOLS

Wisdom is never dear, provided the article be genuine.

HORACE GREELEY

BOLTON, true to New England tradition, was ever mindful of her schools. From the beginning, the school was one of her first considerations, as the records show: "acting under Article 1 of the warrant of March 7, 1738/9, the question was put whether the Town would Raise Fifty Pounds for keeping a School for Reading and writing in said town. It past in the affirmative."

Although in October of the same year the town refused to build a schoolhouse, the appropriations for teaching continued. In March, 1740, Bolton voted to have a school rate, and granted twenty pounds. The following year a committee was chosen to "provide a schoolmaster for the Town." Fifty pounds was granted.

The question of a building was still a vital one. In March, 1741, "It was put to vote whether the School should be a standing School as near the m.h. as can be conveniently kept and so all that Live within Two miles of the same to be at the charge of said School, And them without The Two Miles To Draw their part of the School Rate and appropriate the Same for their Children Giving Liberty To Send To Any School in Said Town. It pass't in the affirmative."

On May 21, 1744, it was "voted to build a schoolhouse near the Meeting house." Captain Benjamin Atherton,

Lieutenant Jabez Beaman, and Deacon Jabez Fairbank were appointed as the building committee. The selectmen were "to provide a school master ye present year." In October of the same year "150 pounds old tenor" was granted for the schoolhouse. An old receipt reads, "Bolton, March : 15 : 1752 Then Receved of Mr. William Sawyer Two pounds, Ten Shillings and Two Pence, it Being in Full with what I had Receved Before For all My Serves in Schooling In Said Town I Say Receved By Me Ephrm Whitney."

From 1751 until 1760, there was much controversy about dividing the town into school districts. It was voted on May 21, 1751, that "the Town be Divided into Five Parts in order for convenient Schooling," in connection with which Deacon Josiah Whitcomb, Captain Benjamin Atherton, Samuel Nurse, Benjamin A. Baley, and Abraham Moore were appointed a committee "to find out the Respective Centers of The Town." However, the vote was "Abolished made void and Done away" at the meeting of March 6, 1753, despite the fact that the town had previously "excepted of the commitys Divisshun which they made Conserving School Houses."

Again, in 1756, the town meeting "voted to divide the town into five parts for the better accommoding the schulling," and in 1759, Article 8 in the warrant read as follows: "To see what Method the Town will come into for the Better Regulating the School."

In 1760, the question was settled, for on May 19, "The Town accepted the Committee's Report Relating to School houses and voted to Raise ninty three pounds, Six Shillings and eight pence for building the school houses; voted that said School houses Be Sixteen Feet Squair beSide the Chim-

ney Way.” Samuel Baker and five others were chosen “to build or see that the School Houses Be built.”

Later, the meeting “Choose Mr Silas Baley, Mr. Joshua Johnson, Capt. Samuel Nurs, Mr Samuel Bruce, Mr. Eleazor Whetcomb, Mr Gabril Preist, Mr Jeremiah Holman, Mr Jonas Houghton, Mr William Fiffe, Mr Abram Moore, Mr Josiah Sawyer, Mr Artemus How, a Committee to Joyn the Committee above Menchend In Building the School Houses.” The town voted on September 10, 1760, that it would not pay “the Commity For their Servis in Dividing the Town for Schooling.”

When the schoolhouse near Eliakim Atherton's burned, some wished to move the old schoolhouse near the meeting-house to this site, while others wished to build a new one. It was voted to “pass over the article until such time as the Inhabitants living in that quarter of the Town shall get agreed amongst themselves.” The “old schoolhouse” seems to have been ever in demand, for a few months later an article was presented in regard to the “moving of the old schoolhouse to such a place as the Town shall prefix or Build a new one so as to accommodate that part of the Town.” In September, a committee was appointed to “view and examine that part of the Town that was supposed to belong to the District where the schoolhouse was burnt.” They reported on October third that “said schoolhouse should set on the Hill Between Mr. Newhall's and Mr. Atherton's on the South side of the way.” It was then voted to move the old schoolhouse to that place.

After 1775, there are no recorded appropriations for many years. Apparently the “times which tried men's souls” demanded the full attention of the town, and school records were not kept.

It is interesting to note that in 1782, the year after the war ended, three articles in the warrant concerned the School District — (1) “to apportion the several parts of the town,” (2) “to see if it is necessary to move some schoolhouses,” (3) “to Divide the Town into squadrons to accommodate the schooling and each squadron pitch upon the place for their schoolhouse.” While these three articles were either passed over or rejected, the town must have been divided into “squadrons” or districts sometime during 1785, for it is recorded, on November 28, “that each squadron draw their proportion of the grant for schooling and lay it out under the Direction of the Selectmen.”

In a few years further building was discussed. In 1788, one reads, “Refused to build Sch. h’s but chose Mr. Samuel Blood and 15 others a Com. to see what alterations (if any) ought to be made in the squadrons etc.” Their report was accepted and each squadron was directed to meet “Monday next at two o’clock” to agree on sites for the schoolhouses. A committee was appointed to select places “in those squadrons that could not agree among themselves,” as was the case in the northeast part of the town. The spot selected was on the north side of the road eighteen rods from Silas and Abraham Holman’s barn. Then all these votes were reconsidered. “They voted to chose a large Com. (Micah Bush and 12 others) to see how many sch. hs. will be necessary to accomodate the whole town.” The report of the large committee, which was accepted, was as follows: “That there be five sch. hs. . . . one to be set close by where the Blacksmith’s shop stands to the west of where Mr. Samuel Blood now lives; another where the sch. h. now stands in the Northeast part of the Town; another to be set in South East part of the Town

nigh the s. w. corner of Lieut. Jona Nurss land" (now Hudson); "another in the southwest part of the town betwixt Mr. Abijah Pollards House and Mr. Abraim Pollards Gate" (on Wataquadock Hill); "the fifth in Northwest part of the Town where the old schoolhouse now stands" (on the Still River Road) "and to draw 12 weeks schooling to the other sch. hs. 10 weeks each and to be built larger if necessary than the others."

In 1798 it was voted "to build schoolhouses in convenient time." The schoolhouse in the center of town was to be twenty feet square, while the others were only eighteen. Each was to have a porch and an eight-foot shed. Seventy-five pounds was allowed for furnishing these new buildings, but the town refused to appropriate money to clapboard and paint them.

A committee consisting of "Mr. Jona. Nurse, Capt. Jona. Moor, Deacon Daniel Nurse, Col. Robert Longley, and Silas Holman" was appointed to join with the Selectmen "to Equal the schooling that has bin kept within the said town of Bolton for the past five years."

Their report was accepted and it was voted that the selectmen provide a good woman's school for eight weeks in each of the new schoolhouses except the Northeast.

In 1796, one finds the first use of "dollars" in the records, when eight hundred dollars was appropriated "for the support of schools and other town charges." Until 1854, the school appropriation was included in "other town charges" or "for poor, schools, etc." A bill and receipt read as follows:

Bolton, September 11, 1797,

The town of Bolton Debt to me for boarding a school ma'am ten weeks, beginning at the 12th of June, 1797 ten dollars.

Robert Longley Jr.

Received the contents of the within account

Robert Longley Jr.

In response to a petition from a number of the inhabitants it was voted in 1797, to encourage singing by having a school for one month, and forty dollars was granted for the same. Major James Houghton, Jr., Mr. Silas Whitcomb, and Mr. Enoch White were chosen "to provide the master, establish regulations, and provide fewel and other necessities for said school." This singing school continued "off and on" for one hundred years, until 1897, when it became a part of the regular school system.

After many years, the school buildings again received attention. It was voted in 1798, "to clapboard, paint, underpin and point the walls of all schoolhouses not finished." Probably Bolton now had its "Little Red School Houses."

It was also in this year that there was "A Com. appointed to converse with The Friends on their request to be set off as a squadron and to draw their proportion of the money for schooling, reported not in favor, which was accepted. The Friends already had a sch. h. and maintained a school at their own charges." However, in 1802, "Upon request of John Fry and others, the Friends were to be allowed to draw back 75 per cent. of the school tax paid by them, to be expended 'for the support of a school to be taught by a master of their denomination,' suitably qualified, 'said master and school to be subject to the same examination and inspection as the other masters and schools are . . . the same to be a free school for all denominations . . . to be indulged with the privilege of using their own decent language in said school.' Until 1845, a Committee was chosen at the annual March meeting to "everage Friends' school money."

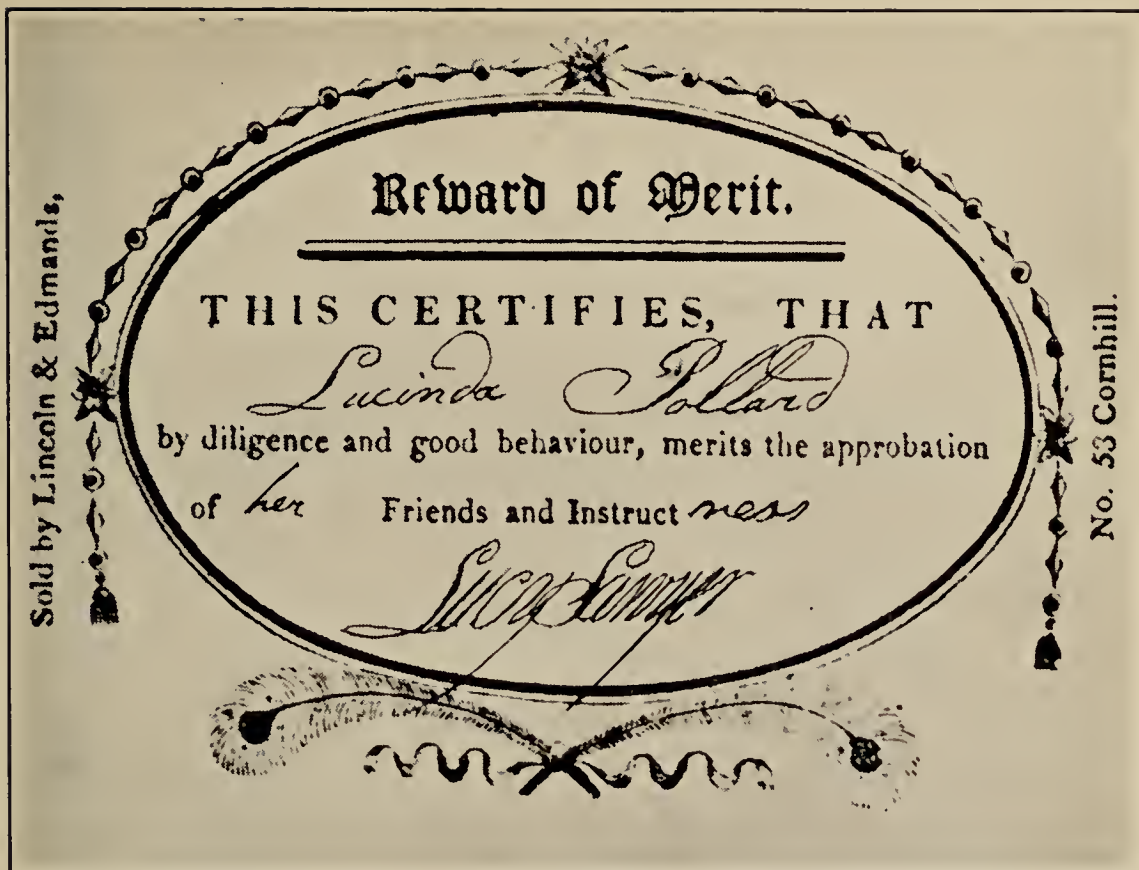
The year 1802 brought a great change in the equipment of the schoolhouse, for brick stoves were built in several, under the direction of Mr. Stephen P. Gardner, chairman of the committee in charge of the work. It is said of the stoves, "They were sort of ovens taking four-foot wood and replaced the great fireplaces."

An old bill for the services of a teacher reads :

The Town of Bolton to Betsy Whitcomb Dr. to teaching school three weeks at 7/6 \$3.75. Bolton Dec. 12, 1808 Received pay for Betsy Whitcomb.

Eleazer Houghton.

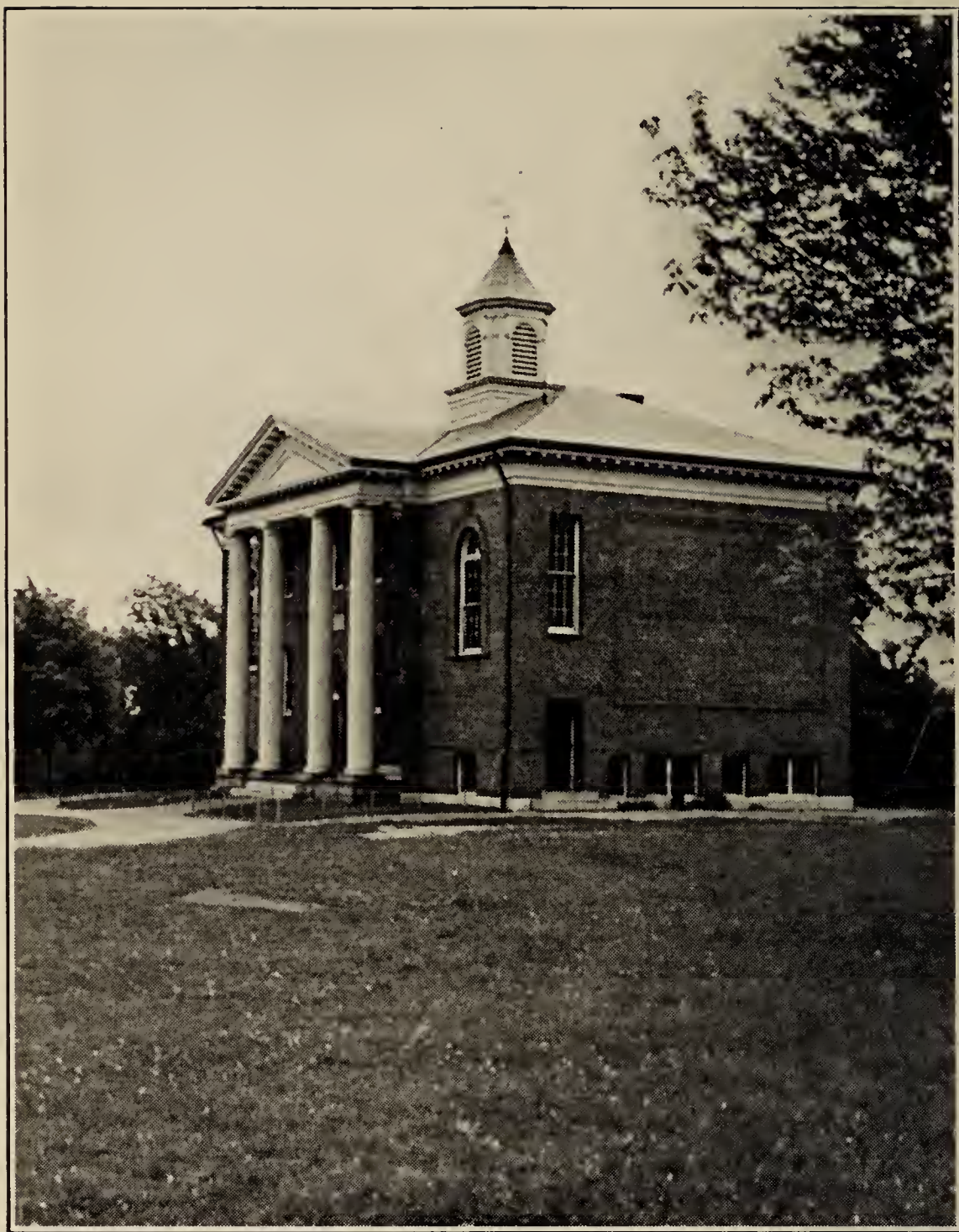
In 1825, the course of study was under consideration. "A Com. of Daniel Sawyer and 8 others appointed under Art. 8, 'To see if the Town will prohibit the Latin and French languages being taught in our schools,' reported April 4, 'that through the multiplicity of branches taught . . . the shortness of time, the large number in our houses, the confusion that so many branches make; that these branches tend to draw the attention of the minor scholars from their studies, and must take considerable time in writing, etc. . . . would recommend that said languages be excluded' from our common schools." The same year four hundred dollars was granted to move and repair the Center Schoolhouse, and to build a new one where it would be deemed advisable. The district had been divided. A committee to inquire into the better equalization of schooling reported, — "'We think there can be no measure more congenial to the excellent system than a distribution of money (for schools) without regard to taxation. As respects to the friends School the Com. thinks they are in justice entitled to a proportion of money which they pay,' and



THE REWARDS OF EDUCATION

<i>Joseph Haughton to Thomas Fry</i>		
<i>Bounding and teaching his 3 children</i>		
<i>16 weeks at 10/6 per week each</i>		<i>84. 00</i>
<i>5 Writingbooks 50 Chemistry 83</i>		<i>1. 33</i>
<i>Grammar 50 quills 12 Spellingbooks 17</i>		<i>. 79</i>
<i>Pencils 5 Penknife 42 Arithmetic 37</i>		<i>. 84</i>
<i>Paper 5 Postage 10</i>		<i>. 15</i>
		<i>\$ 87. 11</i>
<i>Fryville 3 Ms 25. 1837 Recd Payment</i>		
<i>Thomas Fry</i>		

THE COST OF EDUCATION



THE EMERSON MEMORIAL SCHOOL

recommended the Town to grant them their full proportion according to the Taxation."

The first School Committee was chosen in 1826. The members were the Reverend Isaac Allen, Nathaniel Longley, Oliver Barrett, Thomas Fry, Stephen Nurse, Jr., Amory Holman, and Silas Haynes, Jr. Their duty was "to hire teachers for the several schools, visit and examine same agreeable to the late law passed in the Legislature of the Commonwealth."

The thirties brought many changes. In 1832, the old brick schoolhouse was rebuilt, while in 1833, the East Center schoolhouse was moved. Action was taken in regard to placing a schoolhouse "near the south west corner of the burying ground." Captain Oliver Sawyer offered to give one half of the necessary land and five dollars for the removal. Mr. Daniel Sawyer was to find land for the other half for ten dollars.

Captain Oliver, who lived in the Kimmens house, had already given one plot of land on which a school had been placed. This is a square piece, diagonally opposite the Kimmens place. Why the school was to be moved from this site to one only a few rods away does not appear. However, it was moved and placed wholly on Captain Oliver's land nearly opposite Mrs. Burns' house. The Town evidently did not choose to pay Daniel Sawyer \$10 for his land when Capt. Oliver would allow the use of a site free.

In 1835, all schools were put "on an equal footing," each to have ten weeks both winter and summer. The following year the term was lengthened two weeks. The appropriation, which had lessened since 1817, was increased in 1839, to \$2800. The influence of Horace Mann, Secretary of the

State Board of Education, began to be felt, and acting upon legislation of 1838, besides "the visiting school Committee" — Reverend Isaac Allen, J. S. Davenport, Chas. H. Nurse, Oliver Barrett, Jr., Levi M. Powers, — "A Prudential Com." was chosen for the first time, Nathan Sawyer, Silas Nurse, Cephas Houghton, Nath'l Burgess, Stephen C. Pollard, Paul Whitcomb, Nathan Whitney.

This same year, at the direction of the selectmen, the schoolhouses were numbered with the following results: "Center became No. 1; the Pan, No. 2; Nourse (Hudson), No. 3; East, No. 4; the Green, No. 5; Ballville, No. 6; the Brick, No. 7; Fryville (Quakers), No. 8."

The town treasurer's books contain some interesting school items, such as the following:

December 16, 1823, paid Louisa Holman teaching and board, \$23.34; Dec. 20, 1824, Achsah Moore, for seven weeks and board, \$8.17; Feb. 5, 1826, Arad Brown, Center, teaching and boarding self, \$65; Feb. 28, 1828, David Babcock in part, Friend's School, \$10.76; Nov. 17, 1828, Amariah Wood, Singing School, \$20; Feb. 4, 1828, paid Abel Whetcomb for "Boarding school dame last summer, \$11.67"; Mar. 2, 1834, Assessor's certificate for Friends School money, \$52.

The first money from the "State School Fund" was received March 5, 1836, and amounted to \$43.86.

Bolton's first school report filed at the State House was dated April 6, 1840. To quote from Mr. Clay's report, "With reverent hands I have turned the manuscript pages of Bolton's first school report, . . . signed by the small hand of Isaac Allen, the fine, clear, beautiful one of Chas. H. Nourse, and the business-like one of Oliver Barrett, Jr."

Mrs. Achsah Barrett Sawyer, in recalling events of this period, declared that

her older brothers and sisters, (six of them), went to school from Long Hill to the sch. h. near the lime kiln; the younger children including herself attended one and one half miles, the school near the "burying ground" at "the Pan"; when snow became deep — and they had winter in those days — the little Achsah boarded at Mr. Joel Sawyer's and went to "the village school," which then stood on the north side of the road beyond Mr. Hurlbut's; the railroad bed crossed its site; the house is the present storehouse west of Miss Newton's garden, and still contains the teacher's desk and some of the old seats. Mr. For-dyce Nourse of Lancaster was one of the teachers, and Mr. Nat'l Avery Newton was one of the last male teachers at "the Pan"; he was "an old schoolmaster" but not a Harvard graduate. Miss Lizzie Parker, daughter of Dr. Parker, was "a famous female teacher," and took great pains to teach us to sew; sewing was commonly taught in the summer schools of 60 to 50 years ago, and is not "a modern fad."

Mrs. Sawyer said of the Reverend Isaac Allen, who visited schools with a dignity becoming his office, that

he stood in the door, 'til the whole school rose and remained standing 'til he was seated, and rose when he retired; after a while the teachers always prepared for his examinations for they knew just what words he would put out to be spelled, and what questions he would ask; . . . once a week in summer we had to get a catechism lesson and woe to the child that didn't get it so he could recite it perfectly.

The School Committee was reduced, in 1841, to three members. These were the Reverend Isaac Allen, Caleb Nourse, and Nathaniel A. Newton.

Ever abreast of the times, educationally, Bolton became aware of the Normal School in its earliest days. The first students from the town who attended Bridgewater Normal School during the winter of 1845-1846 were Rufus

Sawyer, the teacher in "No. 3," and Amos Nourse, in "No. 4."

The first Normal School teacher employed by the town was Miss Mary Ann Parker of Billerica, who had attended Lexington Normal School, and "kept school" in "No. 5" during the summer of 1846. The following winter Daniel G. Walton, in "No. 3," was from the normal school at Bridgewater.

One feels that even the stoutest hearts might have quailed before the examinations of those days.

To the candidates for "certification," "approved," or to be "approbated" for winter schools, besides being orally examined, were given a list of words to be written out and defined, abbreviations were to be appended, and a list of geographical questions answered in writing. The words were Ratiocination, Enthusiastic, Procrastination, Loquacious, Lithography, Lisperingly, Suspiciously, Irritate, Irretrievable, Phlegmatic, Pamphlet, Depicted, Depreciation, Depose, Dispose, Dissolve.

By 1846, the employment of female teachers for the winter became a question. Finally, it was voted

to give any district the privilege of employing female teachers in the winter provided three-fourths of the district were wishing it.

One man is said to have preferred a male teacher as "school would be shorter and his boys could do more at home."

That the "female teacher" proved successful is attested by a report of 1862, which reads,

Miss Gibbs [teacher of "No. 3," with eighty-one pupils] had full authority to call to her aid some of the advanced pupils to assist in hearing recitations. The school was kept to its close, "as we think with profit to all." The experiment of a female teacher here, and also in No. 1 (Mary H. Stone), with the

accompanying results, ought to convince the most skeptical that there ARE female teachers who can both teach and govern, in a style in no respect inferior to that of males.

When the question of an appropriation for a high school arose in 1847, the matter was "indefinitely postponed." Fortunately, the postponement was not indefinite, for the following year, September 11, 1848, the town was called upon to take action in regard to the will of Joseph Houghton. He bequeathed \$12,000 and "eighty rods of land" to "a part of the Inhabitants of the Town of Bolton, the interest to be expended in the support of one school, to be kept near the center of said Bolton, in which such an academic instruction shall be given as said Town shall decide to be most useful." Another clause stated that nine men "and their descendants" were to be "excluded from attending said school for the term of 100 years"! As Doctor Edes pointed out, this excluded some very promising students, whose fathers had been taxed for building the schoolhouse. The question was carried before the Supreme Court, which, after considering the whole matter, decided that the clauses of the will could not be maintained, and accordingly set them aside, thus opening the school as a free school, without invidious distinctions, to all properly qualified scholars, children of "inhabitants" of the town.

The town accepted the bequest, and appropriated \$2400 to provide a schoolhouse. The Houghton School, named for its founder, held its first session in the Town House, October 29, 1849, with twenty-five pupils present. The journal, kept by the teacher and pupils, reveals that "the day was a warm Indian summer day, but the blasts of Autumn begin to howl. Monday, Dec. 3. The school assembled this morning for the first time in the new sch. h,

but had to return to the Town House, probably for a week longer, awaiting action as to 'the excluded.'" The number of pupils had been increased to thirty-one, and a little later they numbered thirty-six. The text books used were Adams' and Colburn's *Arithmetics*, Mitchell's *Geography*, Day's *Algebra*, Ingersol's *English Grammar*, *Latin Grammar*, *Virgil*, *Geometry*, Comstock's *Philosophy*, *Bookkeeping*, *History*, *Exercises in Reading*, *Defining*, *Orthography*.

The standard of Bolton's schools is revealed in the report of Reverend Richard S. Edes for 1850-1851. To quote :

In years gone by we have enjoyed the labors, as teachers, of such men as Fry, the elder, Sparks, Colburn, Noyes, Upham, Emerson, Geo. B. Felton, Chapin, and others, who afterwards distinguished themselves in some department of literature and science, or are now through their own exertions and merits in some honorable station in society; and they had, too, while sojourning amongst us as teachers, as we have had opportunity to hear one of the most distinguished of them say, scholars of whose power of mind and general attainments they thought highly.

One is reminded of the fable of the "Dog and the Bone" as he reads of the argument whether the addition to "No. 3" should be fourteen or fifteen feet. It was finally decided to "set aside all action thereto."

In 1860, the committee was increased to nine members, with three each for the terms of one, two, and three years, respectively; but the next year it was voted that the members be reduced, as terms expired, to one to a class.

The first "grading" in Bolton occurred when "No. 3" schoolhouse was "fitted into two rooms," with Miss Mary Robie, of Townsend, teaching the primary grades, and Miss Esther D. Holden, of Bolton, the grammar. The

same year, the old Baptist Meetinghouse was purchased, and remodeled. This, remodeled again, now serves as the Fire House.

The renumbering of the schools, at the order of the Selectmen, took place June 14, 1874, with the following results: — “No. 1, Center; No. 2, Friends’ district; No. 3, ‘The Pan’; No. 4, East; No. 5, ‘the Green’; No. 6, ‘Ballville.’”

Miss Caroline M. Newton, the first woman to be chosen, was made a member of the School Committee in 1878. It was voted in 1880 “to leave the whole management of the schools in the hands of the School Committee.”

1892 brought another innovation. That year, in accordance with the Public Statutes of 1888, it was voted “to employ a Superintendent of Schools, and to unite with Southborough or any one or more of the eighteen towns named for this purpose.” In April, a union was formed with Boylston, West Boylston, and Harvard. J. A. Pitman was elected District Superintendent. A course of study for all of the schools, the first Bolton had, was prepared by him and adopted by the committee.

Three years later, West Boylston withdrew from the Union, and at the same time Mr. Pitman resigned. A new district, consisting of Bolton, Boylston, Harvard, and Shirley, was formed, and Charles L. Clay was elected Superintendent.

As early as 1868, there had been talk of consolidating the schools, for at that time a vote “to join No. 5 & 7” was “reconsidered.” Again in 1872, the vote “passed,” to reduce the number of districts from seven to five, and the grant of \$75 to convey pupils, was reconsidered. The next year, however, it was voted “to close No. 7 and it

staid closed." Actual consolidation first took place in 1896, and \$300 was appropriated for the transportation of pupils.

During this transition period, the schools were literally moved to the center of the town, for not only were the members of the school transferred, but the buildings themselves. "No. 3" was the first to make the change. This building was moved to the center, while the pupils from numbers 3, 4, and 5 were conveyed to this and to "No. 1."

In 1897, it was voted to consolidate Numbers 6 and 2 with "No. 1," and the year following these buildings were discontinued. In 1899, "No. 2" and "No. 5" buildings were moved to the village, and all pupils from outlying districts were conveyed. It is recorded of the year 1899, "the schools are well graded — Primary, Intermediate, Grammar, and Houghton. The singing school, with its teacher, Mrs. Carrie E. Tarbell of Hudson, transferred to the schoolrooms."

The years since 1900 have brought many changes. The most obvious of these is the fine, modern, brick building which stands on the site of the three one-room buildings. This was made possible by the generosity of Edward D. Emerson.

At the annual town meeting, held February 6, 1922, it was "Voted that the town accept as a memorial gift from Edward D. Emerson, a new schoolhouse, to be completed and situated as outlined by his architect, Mr. Luther C. Greenleaf, at this meeting; this building to take the place of the buildings now occupied by grades one to six. Under the following conditions: First. That the school shall bear the name of the donor. Second. That one of the present buildings be turned over to the donor when the

new building becomes available for occupancy." A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Emerson at this meeting.

Another apparent change is the use of motor busses, which have replaced the horsedrawn "barges." An important change in organization was the elimination of a Senior High School, and the creation of a Junior High School. As the Senior High School classes grew smaller, the cost per pupil became proportionately larger, until it seemed prohibitive.

Austin R. Paull, who was Superintendent at the time, was instrumental in working out the new plans. In June, 1917, the last class graduated from the Houghton High School, and in September, the members of the Sophomore, Junior, and Senior classes attended High School in neighboring towns. The Junior High School was put in operation that same September, and as such, the Houghton School still functions.

Health has become an important factor in education. The first school physician, Doctor Irene Morse, of Clinton, was appointed in 1919. She was succeeded, in 1925, by Doctor Herbert Royal, of Harvard, who still serves. Mrs. Naomi Cunningham, the first school nurse, was appointed in October, 1923. At that time one half day a week was devoted to this work. Since our association with the Nashoba Health Unit, the schools have had the services of a nurse two days a week, as well as recourse to the many other facilities of the Unit.

The towns of Harvard, Pepperell, and Bolton formed a new Union in 1909, and elected Austin R. Paull Superintendent. When he resigned in 1918, Thomas E. Benner was chosen. Mr. Benner resigned after a short term, and was succeeded by George B. Clark in January, 1920.

When another change in the Union came, Mr. Clark remained in Pepperell, and Nathaniel N. Love was chosen by the terms of the towns composing the new Union. This was in 1924. He was succeeded in 1936 by Blynn E. Davis, who is Superintendent at the present time. The Union is now made up of Littleton, Harvard, Stow, Carlisle, and Bolton.

XIV

THE LIBRARY

Dreams, books, are each a world ; and books, we know
Are a substantial world, both pure and good.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

WE have evidence that our citizens of the early days realized that "Reading maketh a full man." This is the earliest record of a library in Bolton :

At a Meeting of the proprietors belonging to Bolton, Stow, and Berlin, subscribers for a Proposed Library, at the House of Mr. Silas Holman in Bolton on Wednesday, March 9th, 1791

Chose Rev'd Jonat Newell, Mod and Nathl Longley Jr. Clerk for Said Meeting — — — Voted to Choose a person in each Town to receive the Subscriptions for Sd Library and pay in the Same to the Treasurer

Chose Mr. Silas Holman for Bolton

Mr. Saml Gates for Stow

Dr. Benjⁿ Nurse for Berlin

Voted the Committee of purchase be and as hereby empowered to send to Urope for the Library or purchase it else where as they shall find most for the Interest of the Society.

Other Committees are recorded and simple bylaws were made.

In May, 1800, the Stow Proprietors petitioned for a division, and in July, 1800, a request was made that rules and regulations for the Proprietors of the Social Library in Bolton be drawn up. This committee was appointed, and bylaws were adopted as explicit as those of a town. Meet-

ings were called by posting a warrant. The following is a call for a meeting :

Worcester

January 3, 1801

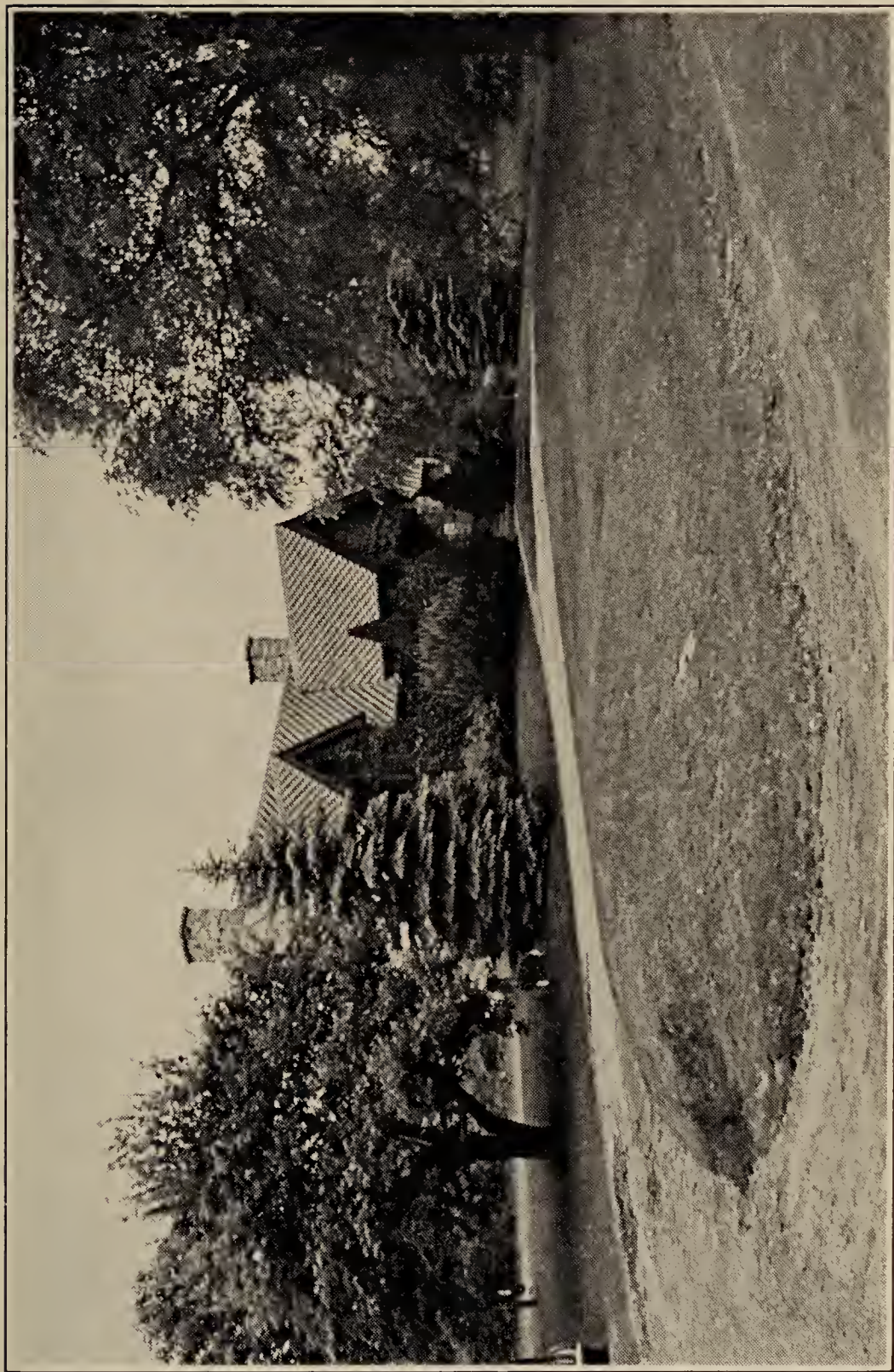
In the Name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts The Proprietors of the Social Library in the Town of Bolton, are hereby Notified and warned to meet at the dwelling-house of Silas Holman, Innholder in said Bolton, on Monday the twelfth day of January Instant, at one o'clock in the After-noon to consider of, and transact any business Relative to the fourteenth Article of the Rules and by laws of said society that they may think proper when met.

Silas Holman (Clerk of Society)
order of the Committee appointed
to call special meetings.

In these bylaws, Article 3 states :

A Librarian shall be annually chosen who shall take the Custody of the Library and shall keep the same open for the delivery and receiving of Books in the first Wednesday in each month from one to Six o'clock in the afternoon. The first Wednesday in each month to be considered as a return term and any person keeping a book or Books more than four of said terms Shall pay twenty cents for every term he or she shall keep said book or Books over four terms. The Librarian to keep a full record of all violations and penalties and make due return to the Treasurer. And for his services he shall be entitled to receive forty cents for each term.

A collector was chosen annually to secure money from the proprietors of the Social Library in the Town of Bolton. The names of the negligents who remained in a state of delinquency for four full terms were returned to the Librarian, and their rights were suspended until full payment was made. A committee on inspection met twice a year to



THE WHITNEY MEMORIAL LIBRARY

“inspect the State of the Library.” When any book was returned “scrolled or otherways damaged the Librarian shall lay it before said Committee and the person who returned it in that condition shall be obliged to pay what said Committee set the damage at.”

Article 7 says :

A Committee shall be annually chosen to make choice of and purchase such Books as the funds of the society will admit of, Provided no Book shall be introduced into said Library that shall tend to corrupt the morals of Society and no Books shall be admitted by donation or otherways without the approbation of said Committee.

An auditing committee was appointed, to make an audit as exact as that of town affairs. The officers were under strict injunction to attend to their duties faithfully and if they failed in their duties, except in case of sickness or extreme emergency, were subject to a fine not exceeding three dollars or less than fifty cents. Each proprietor was at liberty at all times to sell or transfer his or her rights to some other person, providing such person was willing to comply with the rules of the Society. A person wishing to become a proprietor paid \$2.50, which was considered the value of one Library share. Each proprietor paid forty cents annually to the collector, so new books could be added. The proprietors could not take books valued at more than \$3.00 from the Library at any one time nor take any volume more than twice in succession.

The Stow proprietors were granted their request for a division, and, in March, 1801, the Berlin proprietors asked leave to withdraw. Apparently there was considerable hard feeling over Berlin's claims, but they were finally settled in the summer of 1801, and the last record of the Proprietors

of the Social Library in Bolton is the notice of the adjournment until the annual meeting to be held November 3, 1802.

What happened to the Social Library between then and 1859 is not recorded, but it is evident that interest in a Library never died out because the first catalogue of books in the Town Library of Bolton, printed April, 1867, says in an introductory note, "The Town Library was established in 1859. The first appropriation of money for the purpose was one hundred dollars, the greater part of which was expended in the purchase of books. The 'Ladies Social Library,' the books of the 'Historical Association,' and those of the first 'Agricultural Association,' were about the same time donated, and, also, those of the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth School Districts. Certain works heretofore kept in the Town Clerk's office were likewise, by vote, placed in the Library."

It also notes that "the total appropriations for the support and increase of the Library" from 1859 to 1867, were three hundred and eighty-six dollars, and it comments, "Experience has amply demonstrated that, never has the Town invested money in a worthier object, or for one which yielded a better return."

Another catalogue printed in 1871 tells of rearranging and cataloguing the books and speaks of the need of adequate quarters for the housing of the books. At this time they were housed in the present Selectmen's room in the Town House.

In 1869, the town voted to instruct the School Committee, until otherwise directed, to expend each year for books for the Town Library the amount received from the County Treasurer as return taxes on dogs.

In June, 1903, the cornerstone for the Library building was laid. The new building was given by the Misses Anna E. and Emma Whitney of Lancaster in memory of their father, the late Captain Joseph Whitney, long a resident of Bolton. The architect was the son of a former Bolton minister. The building is made of Bolton field stone and is unusually attractive in its setting of wide lawns.

The Library has one endowment from Doctor George A. Bacon's estate and Miss Lucy Bowen left a sum of money, the interest from which must be used to purchase magazines. It is supported mainly by town appropriation, plus the "dog tax."

There are, at present, over 6000 books in the Library and many magazines are on the reading table. Some articles of value, either because of age or association, are kept in the building. A very fine collection of the native flowers of Bolton, made by Miss Ella Barrett, may be found here.

During the many years since 1859 there have been several librarians, but no history of the Bolton Library would be complete without mention of Miss Fidelia Newton, who for forty years so ably and kindly took charge, not only of the circulation department but, with her wise judgment, supervised the choice of new books and laid the foundation for the library of the future.

XV

OLD HOUSES

He who loves an old house
Never loves in vain.
How can an old house,
Used to sun and rain,
To lilac and to larkspur
And tall trees above,
Ever fail to answer
The heart that gives it love!

ISABEL FISKE CONANT

THE WHITCOMB-MENTZER HOUSE

IN the east part of the town stands an ancient house, said to be the oldest in Bolton. This house is now the property of Raymond Mentzer, having been in the family since 1875. The boyhood home of General John Whitcomb, it was built by some member of the Whitcomb family, reputedly in 1680. It must have been among the first to be built in the resettlement after the massacre.

An ell has "rifle windows" high up under the eaves, and was doubtless used as a garrison. Behind the house are the old lime quarry and kilns, which represent one of New England's oldest industries.

The house itself is most interesting. It contains huge fireplaces, with the old cranes and brick oven. Above one fireplace are pine paneled doors, surmounted by hand-carved molding which is matched by the mantlemolding. One room is entirely pine-sheathed, with time-darkened beams through the ceiling, all hand-hewn.

DAVID WHITCOMB'S INN

Josiah Whitcomb, whose garrison stood where Sugar Road joins Golden Run, owned several hundred acres of land, the greater part of it to the north and east of his homestead. In 1708, he deeded to his second son, David, a part of his lands "on ye East side of ye brook that runneth through my field and it is land on which my sd son, David, hath built and now dwelleth." Eight years before, David Whitcomb had married Mary (Hayward) Fairbank. She was called "Doctress" Mary Whitcomb, because of a knowledge of roots and herbs gained during two years captivity among the Indians. It is probable that David built his house about the time of his marriage in 1700. The place is now owned by Philip Phillips, an architect, who is connected with Harvard University.

In 1717, David Whitcomb applied for an inn license, becoming thereby the first innholder of Bolton. Upon his death in 1730, Doctress Mary became the owner of the homestead, which by her will in 1733 was divided among her five sons.

The eldest of these sons, Deacon David Whitcomb, one of the founders of the Bolton Church, became the sole owner of the property, and in 1765 deeded it to his son, Tille. The deed states that "it is the place where my son John formerly dwelt." John Whitcomb had left Bolton about 1763 for Swanzey, New Hampshire, where he was one of the first settlers. His household goods were packed on one of his horses; on the other rode his wife, who carried their youngest child, a mere infant, in her arms. A pair of pannier baskets was also carried by the second horse, and in each of these rode a child.

The heirs of Tille Whitcomb sold the place out of the family in 1785. It passed through several hands and in 1792 was bought by Samuel Wheeler, a cooper. Four generations of Wheelers lived on the farm, but, in 1885, after nearly one hundred years, it was sold to others. Several subsequent owners lived there, Mrs. Barbara Zink for about twenty years, and Nathan Carville for nearly as long.

For more than ten years this old homestead which had seen one generation pass away and another generation come stood vacant and at the mercy of the elements. Its doors stood ajar ; its windows were broken ; its whole appearance was forlorn and dejected. But in 1937, it was purchased by Mr. Phillips who could see, beneath the neglected appearance, the beautiful lines and mellow charm of the old building.

The restoration of this house has been remarkable, although perhaps not as difficult as it appeared at first, due to the soundness of its essential timbers. The idea of Mr. Phillips has been to put the house into its original condition, without violence to its lines or interior arrangement. The latter is somewhat unusual, owing to its having been two houses joined together, with separate cellars, stairways, and attics. There were two kitchens, each with its fireplace and brick oven. All these features have been kept intact.

There is some very beautiful pine paneling and wainscoting of wide boards in the older part of the house. All the doors in the house are old, and in some cases they are the original doors, made when the house was built. Everything original has been preserved, as far as possible, and the house is slowly but surely coming into its own once more.

THE KEYS-BONAZZOLI HOUSE

In 1710, "in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne," James Keys bought from Hezekiah Whitcomb a certain large tract of land, on what is now the Hudson Road. On this tract, James or Mathias, his brother, built the house which is now owned by Giacomo Bonazzoli. The date, 1728, was found chiseled in a beam in the house. William Keys, son of James, sold the place in 1745 to Samuel Bruce, and a rapid succession of owners followed, until 1796, when John Sawyer bought it. He lived on the property until his death in 1812, after which his heirs were the owners until 1839. One of these heirs was Thomas Houghton, who was a blacksmith and had a shop on the place for a number of years. The Widow Ballard was another heir, and to her was set off one room, a chamber, and the use of the kitchen for cooking.

Nahum Stratton purchased the farm from Thomas Houghton and the other heirs of John Sawyer, and lived there for many years. Mr. Stratton was a shoemaker, and his old shop stood near the house until recently. The property passed from him to Mrs. Lucy Stratton Sawyer, of Boylston, but on her death in 1871 she left a will bequeathing the place to Nahum's daughters, Mary Mason and Elizabeth MacKenzie, and giving Nahum a life right in the house.

For ten years or more before 1900, the house stood vacant and neglected. It was purchased by Mrs. Mary Keefe and put in living condition. In 1907, it was sold to Giacomo Bonazzoli, the present owner, who has greatly improved it. Many of the old features have been retained, such as the huge fireplaces, the old hardware, doors, wainscoting, and heavy beams.

THE MOORE-BONAZZOLI HOUSE

The place in South Bolton now owned by Giacomo Bonazzoli and occupied by Dante E. V. Bonazzoli, was in the Wheeler family for more than one hundred years before its purchase by the present owner. Miss Roena Wheeler was the last of the family to own it, and it had previously been the property of her father, Thomas W., her grandfather, Asa, and her great-grandfather, Abel.

Doctor John Sprague owned the place from 1758 to 1780. As there was no town road to the property until after 1831, it is rather remarkable that a doctor should have considered it a suitable place to live. However, it is probable that private cart-paths were not much more impassable than the town roads of a hundred years ago.

The owner before Doctor Sprague was James Minot, who had purchased the property from John Moore in 1749. Search has failed to reveal a deed to John Moore between 1731, when the Registry of Deeds in Worcester came into existence, and the time he sold the place. It seems likely that it must have been built before 1731, although the actual date of building is unknown.

This house has been modernized very little, with the exception of modern conveniences. The old doors with their quaint hand-forged latches and strap hinges are nearly all intact. There are several fireplaces, a brick oven, corner beams, and many other interesting reminders of an earlier day.

THE WILDER MANSION

The Wilder Mansion is by far the most interesting, historically, of any house in Bolton. Its story is interwoven with the history of the town. Tradition says that it was



A ROOM IN THE WILDER-CLAPP HOUSE



INTERIOR OF THE WHITCOMB-MENTZER HOUSE



THE ENTRANCE HALL AND DOUBLE STAIRCASE
IN THE WILDER MANSION

built by Josiah Richardson, the year the town was incorporated. He kept it only three years. In 1741, he sold it to John Richardson of Dorchester, a distiller, whose son, Caleb, conducted an inn there for seventeen years. Although the main highway to Boston at that time ran by the door, Caleb did not make a success of his business, and, to save the property, his brother, James, who had become wealthy in the distilling business of his father, took it over.

James Richardson, in the thirty years he was owner, improved the place, adding greatly to its acreage. The Richardsons were active in Bolton, and their name appears often in the records.

James Richardson was a bachelor, and the place passed out of the family on his death. After a number of years, about 1814, it was bought by S. V. S. Wilder, its most famous owner, who remodeled the house to resemble a French château. Under Wilder's ownership, the acreage became enormous; his holdings extended into Lancaster, and nearly to the Harvard line. Dozens of persons were employed to work the farm, take care of the stock of various kinds, and to carry on the numerous projects in which Mr. Wilder was interested. The Wilders entertained extensively, and necessarily employed a large domestic staff.

After Mr. Wilder left Bolton, Jonathan Forbush purchased the estate and carried it on somewhat as before. He was especially interested in pedigreed cattle, and imported many from Europe. Mr. Forbush's daughter, Miss Harriet Forbush, now makes her home in Lancaster, and her reminiscences about the old mansion are many and valuable.

In the fall of 1897, every Boston paper carried a story of the purchase of the Wilder Mansion by J. Wyman

Jones and his wife, who was Mark Hanna's sister. It was suggested that the place had been bought for use as a summer White House, due to Mark Hanna's close connection with the President. Nothing of the kind ever materialized, although Mr. and Mrs. Jones lived in Bolton almost fifteen years.

Richard Saltonstall and Howland Russell were later owners. In 1924, Mr. Frederick M. Burnham of Boston bought the place for a summer home, and his family spend much time here, on "beautiful Bolton hill."

The mansion itself probably little resembles "Caleb Richardson's Inn." In J. Wyman Jones' day, porches and wings of the Victorian type were added. Mr. Saltonstall had these unsuitable additions removed, and much restoration was accomplished inside. So far as it is possible to determine, the mansion is now as it was in the days of its greatest glory — when the Bolton Militia guarded the slumbers of the great Lafayette.

THE WILDER-CLAPP HOUSE

The house now owned by Lowell T. Clapp was once the property of John Wilder, one of the early settlers of Bolton. The exact date when Wilder built his house is not known, but in March, 1738/9, he was living here, as a town meeting voted to place the meetinghouse on his land, "the place being a pine bank near the cellar place called John Wilder's cellar," which vote was later rescinded. A few years later, in 1748, Wilder deeded to his youngest son, William, thirty-one acres of land and the homestead. The will of the elder Wilder, who died in 1756, devised the remainder of his home property to William.

Micah Bush was the next owner of the Wilder property, the purchase being made in 1781. Bush came from Marlborough, and soon became prominent in town affairs. His name appears in the records as an office holder and member of committees. Amory Holman bought the entire property from Bush, but later owners divided it, selling only eight acres with the homestead.

In 1890, Andrew L. Nourse sold the house and three acres of land to Doctor J. Wilkinson Clapp, whose son is the present owner. Doctor Clapp used the place as a summer home, and he was probably Bolton's first "summer resident." He took a very active interest in the town, particularly in the library. He served as a member of the Board of Library Trustees for many years, and occasionally served on other committees. He was always ready with financial aid in town projects, often preferring to remain anonymous.

The Clapp house has retained its Colonial exterior, although it has been remodeled extensively inside. In the nine-room house there are three chimneys in which five open fireplaces are used, two of them having the old cranes. The charming old doorway reflects the Colonial spirit to be found within.

THE MOORE-CLAPP COTTAGE

On the lawn of Mr. Clapp's estate is a quaint cottage, once the store of Caleb Moore, who built it about 1795. It was later owned by his son, Christopher C. Moore. The living-room, which was formerly the store itself, has a Franklin fireplace built in the center of the room, away from the wall. Doctor Clapp bought the store building from the Moore estate in 1909.

Christopher C. Moore, the last owner of the store, inherited the Emerson place from his father, but, being a bachelor, he sold the homestead to Nathan Sawyer. The story is told that Moore made arrangements to board with the Sawyers but after a while decided to board himself at the store as he considered the \$2.00 a week they charged him excessive. He cooked his own meals and slept on the counter at night. The townspeople rather pitied him in his apparent poverty and were shocked when he was found dead in his lonely dwelling. The safe, never locked, much to everyone's surprise, yielded nearly \$250,000 in government bonds!

THE WILDER-WORTHEN HOUSE

On the thirty-one acre estate of John Wilder, beside his homestead, there was another house probably occupied by William, his youngest son. As William Wilder's name appears in a list of voters in 1740, he doubtless had established his home before that time. No roads then separated the two Wilder houses, William's being just across the valley from his father's.

John Wilder deeded both houses to his son on the same day, and William later sold the place as one piece of property to Micah Bush, but after Bush's ownership the estate was divided. Later owners included Amory Holman, Josiah Goss, and William E. Fife. Richard Haggerty owned and occupied the place for over forty years, and after his death in 1912 it was purchased by Dana E. Rollins.

The present owner, Mrs. Eva Miller Worthen, who bought it in 1929, has remodeled and restored extensively. Workmen found hand-split lathes, and wooden pegged oak beams. There are several fireplaces in use, and in the old kitchen is a beehive oven.

THE HOLMAN MANSION

The house now known as "The Country Manor" was built by Reverend Thomas Goss when he settled in the Bolton parish in 1741. Besides his salary, which was generous for the times, the town voted to give him £400 "for encouragement." Without doubt, that amount paid for building his house.

During the "Goss Controversy" the "Gossites" met each Sunday at the home of their minister, this practice continuing for nearly ten years. After the death of Mr. Goss, in 1780, the place was sold by his heirs to General Silas Holman. It was later owned by General Amory Holman, son of General Silas, and remained in possession of the Holman family until 1907. At that time it was purchased by James P. Gilbert.

The place was sold in 1935 to Mrs. Gertrude Lorway of Belmont, who had formerly been connected with the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston. The place is now called "The Country Manor," and is operated as a tea room, with an atmosphere of hospitality and dignity becoming the old mansion.

THE THOMAS HOUGHTON HOUSE

Hezekiah Whitcomb owned a large amount of property in the Bolton section of Lancaster. When he died in 1733, the administrator of his estate set out to his nine-year-old son, Eleazar, besides several other parcels of land, a plot containing about three acres, bounded on the south by the Bay Path or the Great Road. In 1749, Eleazar Whitcomb married Mary Putnam and built a house on his three-acre plot. This is the house now owned by George Maynard.

In 1776, Eleazar and Mary Whitcomb sold the place to John Jewett, a cooper, who transferred it, about a month later, to Israel Whitcomb, a brother of Eleazar. Israel Whitcomb lived there for twelve years, and then sold it back to John Jewett for £240, the original price. Jewett resided there the rest of his life, and on his death it passed into the hands of Stephen P. Gardner, who dealt in real estate. Mr. Gardner probably rented it until 1819, when he sold it to Nathan Ellinwood, a cordwainer, this time for \$240.

Ellinwood increased the value of the property during the twenty-one years he lived on it, as he sold it in 1840, for \$700, to Arah Ellinwood, yeoman. Four years later, in 1844, Thomas Houghton, gentleman, became the owner.

From that time until the present, the place has been in the same family. It passed from Thomas Houghton to his son, Sherman W. Houghton; then to Sherman's brother-in-law, George H. Eastman. He sold it to Eunice Houghton, his wife's mother. From Eunice Houghton it descended to her daughter, Susan Houghton Eastman, and from her to her grandson George E. Maynard, who is the great-grandson of Thomas Houghton.

THE CAPTAIN SAMUEL BAKER HOUSE

In 1750, Samuel Baker bought thirty acres of land on the County road "near West's pond," and on the plot he erected a house, a tan yard, and a sawmill. This is the farm now owned by John Hopkins which is, today, between the Great Road and the Long Hill Road.

Samuel Baker was one of Bolton's most influential citizens, holding many town offices. He was a selectman for twenty years, and during the Revolution he was a member

of the town's Committee of Correspondence. For several years he was sent as Representative to the General Court. In later years he was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Judge Baker, in 1765, sold his place in Bolton, and bought the stone house on Baker Hill in Berlin.

Benjamin Sawyer bought the house and mill in 1791, and for nearly one hundred years it was in possession of the family. After the death of John Sawyer, it was sold, and Amos Bryant, Gardner Willard, and Richard Fitzgerald were later owners. The house was for a year or two used as a barrack for the State Police, and in 1931, it was bought by John Hopkins, the present owner.

The house has two chimneys and seven fireplaces. The rooms are wainscoted and have other fine woodwork. H L hinges are to be found on every inside door, while the outside doors have strap hinges. The most interesting and unusual feature of this house is a beveled ceiling in the living room.

THE BARRETT-GODING HOUSE

The house now owned by Mrs. Charles Burns stands on land which was once the property of Hezekiah Whitcomb, and was a part of the portion of his second son, William. After William sold this parcel of land, it passed through the hands of several owners. Some of the deeds are interesting; one mentions "ye old beaver dam," one gives as the north bound "the upper end of Bay Path Meadow," one is from Benjamin Houghton and Zerviah, "my new married wife," to Nathaniel Holman.

It appears that in 1750, Oliver Barrett bought the piece of land "for One hundred Seventy nine pounds in old Tenor Bills or money equivalent thereto." On this land Lieu-

tenant Barrett erected a house which he sold in 1764 to Ichabod Smith, a cooper. From that time on either a cooper shop or blacksmith shop is mentioned in each deed.

Eliakim Atherton and Thomas Atherton, both blacksmiths, John Temple, a cordwainer, Jonas Bruce, a silversmith, Noah Bacon, a blacksmith, Peter Tenney and Isaiah Leighton, coopers, and Thomas Osborne, gentleman, were some of the owners. Ephraim Osborne, son of Thomas, sold the place to Captain Oliver Sawyer, reserving the cooper shop, which "Brooks Wheeler may move off of said premises." On Captain Oliver's death in 1836, it passed into the hands of Thomas Houghton, and remained in the Houghton family for many years, Thomas' son, Luther, and Luther's son, George, owning it successively. The blacksmith shop stood between the house and the burying ground. Luther Houghton was a shoemaker and used as his workshop the ell on the east of the house.

Charles Houghton was the last of the name to reside there. Everett B. Rowe, Robert Clark, William Hanscom, and George Hanscom owned the place for short lengths of time. In 1910, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Goding bought the property. Mrs. Goding lived there until 1938, when she died in her ninety-fifth year. By her will, the house was left to Mrs. Burns, who had given her faithful and loving care in her declining years.

The chief claim to distinction of this house is its unusually heavy beamed construction, and the fact that the back of the house is made of two-inch plank with loop-holes. Batten doors with strap hinges are found throughout, and on one door is to be seen what is probably unique in Bolton, a latch-string.

THE JOHN FRY HOUSE

In 1740, Jonathan Moore gave to his sons their share of his estate. To his son Jonathan was given a tract of land bordering on what is now the Berlin Road. On this land, Jonathan Moore, Junior, erected a house which is now owned by Merwin Porter Hall. In a beam in the attic is cut the date, 1757. John Fry purchased the property in 1767, and after his death, his son, Thomas Fry, owned it. A boarding school was conducted there, which is said to have been the first in Massachusetts.

After the removal of the Fry family to Chicago, Arthur V. Wheeler lived in the house for many years, selling it to his brother, Doctor Homer Wheeler. The present owner bought the place in 1922.

This house has a large center chimney, with six fireplaces and two brick ovens. The pine-sheathed library with its hand-hewn beams in the ceiling has been restored. Many of the windows have the original small panes, — twenty-four to a window. A number of the doors have the old latches, hinges, and bolts. The front stairway is very quaint, being extremely narrow.

THE JONATHAN FRY HOUSE

The house owned by Reverend and Mrs. Albert Syze was at one time the property of Jonathan Fry, a son of John Fry. In 1826, Nathaniel Longley deeded to Jonathan Fry "all the new part of the house and half of certain chambers, half the barn, granary, etc., and land at south of house." Longley had received this house, or at least the old half of it, from his father, Nathaniel, Senior, a Revolutionary soldier, who had purchased it in 1762, from

Jabez Fairbank, "it being all my homestead." As there are no deeds of the place to Jabez Fairbank, it is probable that he built it in the early days of the town.

THE HOUGHTON HOUSE

Joseph and Sanderson Houghton, brothers, owned all their property in common. When Joseph died in 1789, the administrators of his estate laid out to his heirs many acres of land, " $\frac{1}{2}$ a cyder mill, $\frac{1}{2}$ an old barn and linter, $\frac{1}{2}$ the newest barn; $\frac{1}{2}$ an old house; kitchen, bedroom, garrett and chamber so far as to a perpendicular line from the ridge to the summer girt over the front room." One of the heirs to receive this property was Joseph Houghton, who later, by inheritance and purchase, acquired the entire estate. His son, Quincy A., left the place to his children, Daniel W. Houghton, Sarah Houghton, and Josephine Houghton Fletcher. Sydney Fletcher, son of Josephine and nephew of Daniel and Sarah, in 1936, became sole heir to the property, and the next year sold it to Robert Forbes of Boston. Mr. Forbes is at present restoring the house to its original beauty.

Because of the complete absence of deeds, it has been impossible to trace this house beyond 1789, when it was called "an old house." In a town record of a road in 1721, Henry Houghton, who was the father of Joseph and Sanderson, is noted as having a house in the same location, which may have been the same house.

The Houghton house is very old. It has probably the largest chimney of any house in town. The foundation of the chimney is built in two parts, each about twelve by eight feet, with a space between the two nearly as great. Two little stone cupboards, once used as "wine coolers,"

are built into the base of this chimney. There is a fine old doorway on the front of the house, and inside is much interesting woodwork, all fashioned by hand.

THE AARON POWERS HOUSE

Nathaniel Oak owned many tracts of land. On February 11, 1768, he sold to Joseph Keys "1 acre and 50 rods with the house where said Keys now lives." It would seem that Oak had sold Keys a part of a much larger tract, on which either he or Keys had already built.

October 13, 1773, Joseph Keys sold to Mary Russell, tailor, the above dwelling house and "all other cultivations." January 17, 1786, Mary Russell sold to Thomas Osborne "1 acre, 50 rds, house, fencing, orcharding and all timber standing or lying thereon."

Thomas Osborne, "gentleman," sold in 1804 to Beriah Oak, wheelwright, a tract of land bounded on the south by the Great Road, on the west by Oliver Barrett's (now the cemetery), and on the east by Thomas Miles' shoe-shop and house. On the north the lot extended across the meadow to the upland and to the road by Oak's house. Beriah Oak, who was a Revolutionary soldier, sold the place on March 14, 1807, to Abel Whitcomb, who still owned it in 1831, and for many years thereafter.

Meantime, John Powers purchased two parcels of land adjoining the Whitcomb land. About 1870, he purchased the home place of Abel Whitcomb, and lived there until his death in 1875. Soon after, the place was sold to Aaron Powers, who lived there the remainder of his life until 1905. In 1894, he sold the property to his daughter, Mrs. Flora Powers Hamilton, who is the present owner.

The house has several H or Christian hinges, and one

door with a very large strap hinge. All of the rooms have corner posts; the lower rooms all are wainscoted, one having deep molding.

THE HOUGHTON-ROWE HOUSE

The house owned by Everett B. Rowe is more than 150 years old. Early records show that in 1825, Paul Whitcomb purchased the place at auction, when Caleb Moore sold it for the minor children of Eleazar Houghton.

Jonas Houghton, father of Eleazar, left a will which divided his property among his several children. Eleazar thus inherited part of the "homestead" but bought the rest from Caleb Moore who had purchased it from the other son Silas. This part included one half a pew on the lower floor of the meetinghouse. Jonas had in turn been willed the property by his father, Jonas. Though it is hard to tell exactly when the house was built, it must have been standing in 1775.

Six fireplaces are grouped around the two large old chimneys. In the dining room, originally the kitchen, there is a brick oven. The boards in the sheathing of this room are from 14 to 19 inches in width. In most of the other rooms the floors are of wide boards. These rooms also have Christian doors, but the hinges must have been changed at some time, for the present ones are modern. An interesting old door, hung on strap hinges, is double boarded. The boards running in opposite directions on the two sides are held together with hand-wrought nails. Wherever the beams or posts are exposed, one can see the wooden pegs which hold the building together. An unusual feature is the porch which is paved with great flat stones, some of them five feet in width.

THE BACON-DAKIN HOUSE

The house now owned by Herbert J. Dakin on Long Hill was built in 1785 by Noah Bacon. Four acres more or less, with house and blacksmith shop, were sold by Mr. Bacon on April 2, 1792, to Peter Tenney. The place was then sold successively to Thomas Osborne, February 28, 1794; to Beriah Oaks, a wheelwright, November, 1814; to John Burnham, a carpenter, July 8, 1815; to Oliver Barrett, April 4, 1839; to Silas Fairbanks, January 17, 1842; to George W. Whitney, January 26, 1842; to Charles A. Sawyer, March 16, 1861; to Albert Goodrich, 1864; and on March 13, 1865, Albert Goodrich sold it to Reverend Kilburn Holt, the Baptist minister.

In 1866, the place was purchased by Curtis Bagley of Rockingham, Vermont. Mr. and Mrs. Bagley made it their home as long as they lived, and in 1882, it passed to their daughter, Rebecca Bagley Dakin. Mrs. Dakin's husband, Joseph, died in 1887, and in 1889, she married Henry L. Balcolm, who died in 1933. Mrs. Balcolm died on April 6, 1937, at the age of ninety-three years. About 1910, Herbert Dakin, who had always lived with his mother, built several large sheds, repaired the barn, and planted about 500 apple, peach, cherry, pear, and plum trees. Since then raspberry and other small fruits have been planted.

This house is a two-story structure, with eight rooms, and shed attached, and a big center chimney, supported by a large stone arch in the cellar. In the big old-fashioned kitchen is a huge fireplace with the brick oven used in olden times for baking. Eight doors open from this kitchen. The dining room contains a fireplace, and there are some H hinges and old-fashioned latches in the house.

THE PHINEAS WRIGHT HOUSE

In 1785, Doctor John Barnard sold about forty acres of land, with the exception of a strip on the Harvard Road, to Reverend Phineas Wright, third minister of Bolton, upon which land the latter erected the buildings now standing. Later, in 1810, the widow of Reverend Phineas Wright, Susanna Wright, made a transfer of the property to Reverend Isaac Allen, fourth minister of Bolton. In 1844, Doctor Robert Thaxter of Dorchester bought the property from the estate of Reverend Mr. Allen. In 1862, the buildings and the land, including the strip of land and what was left of the tan yard, on the Harvard Road, formerly owned by Rufus O. Nourse, passed into the hands of Doctor Thaxter's niece, Mrs. Richard Edes, wife of the fifth minister of Bolton. From 1862 until the present time the property has been in the Edes family. It is now owned by Mrs. Francis Edes.

There were originally eight fireplaces, two large ones with built-in ovens. As in so many of the old houses, most of the fireplaces are cemented or bricked up. In one room, although the fireplace is not open, the oven is still intact. Old latches are still in use on the six-paneled doors. Several of the doors swing on cross-bar hinges, with heavy bolts to lock them. When the old David Nourse place was burned, some of the H hinges were saved, and placed on doors in the Edes house.

THE NOURSE HOUSE

The brick house at Nourse's Corner, owned by Richard E. Nourse, was built by David Whitney about 1810. Be-

fore that date, it is probable that the owners of the property lived in the Nourse cottage, which was built before 1770.

This place has been in the Nourse family for sixty-four years, having been bought by Andrew L. Nourse in 1874. In 1911, it was purchased by Richard E. Nourse, the present owner.

Bolton bricks were used in the construction of the large house, which is a fine Colonial type. Original paneling, stairway, fireplaces and hardware may be found in the house. Inside shutters are an unusual feature. A fine fanlight over the door adds charm to the entrance.

THE KIMMENS HOUSE

Between the home lots of Eleazar Whitcomb and Ichabod Smith on the Bay Road, or Great Road, was a two-acre plot which was a part of the original three acres set out to Eleazar by the administrator of his father. In 1764, Eleazar Whitcomb sold the two acres to his neighbor. In the old deed the beaver dam in the brook is mentioned. Until 1793, this plot remained a part of the property now owned by Mrs. Charles Burns. At that time, Elnathan Polly, a blacksmith, bought it from Peter Tenney and Isaiah Leighton. In the meantime, a barn and blacksmith shop had been built on the land.

Elnathan Polly built the house now owned by Mrs. Charles Kimmens. In 1797, Polly sold the place to Elijah Sawyer, blacksmith, and in 1808, Elijah, having become, according to the deed, a gentleman, conveyed it to his brother, Captain Oliver Sawyer, who is called a blacksmith.

The house at the time Captain Oliver bought it was a one-story building, probably with a twenty-five foot ell on the east side. Captain Oliver did a great deal of remodel-

ing, raising the main house and adding another twenty-five feet to the ell.

After Captain Oliver's death in 1836, the place was sold at public vendue. It was bought by Benjamin Bailey, and later sold to various owners, all blacksmiths. The deeds always except "a certain small piece of land given by Oliver Sawyer to the Town of Bolton, for school accommodations." This is the walled-in lot opposite the house. On March 25, 1858, Amos P. Kimmens bought this property, and it has remained in the Kimmens' name for eighty years.

The house has a nine-foot chimney, two fireplaces, one with hearth of square bricks, a brick oven, ceiling beams, and exposed corner beams in all the rooms. In two rooms the framing beams are also exposed. On the lower floor are ten doors with strap hinges. All the inside doors, some of them batten type, have hand-forged latches and door handles. One of these handles is unusual, being a silhouette of a periwigged gentleman, which design is reversed on the lower side of the handle.

"BRAECROFT"

"Braecroft" was built in 1795 by Captain Caleb Moore, a prominent man of affairs in his day. It remained in possession of his descendants for many years, but about 1863 it was conveyed by Christopher Moore to Nathan Sawyer. John H. Sawyer, son of Nathan, lived in the house, and raised his family there. It was sold by him, in 1895, to Edward D. Emerson, and is still owned by Mrs. Emerson.

"Braecroft" is a brick house, the outside walls being constructed of three layers of bricks. All the windows on the first floor originally had inside shutters, but only those in the dining room remain, the others having been removed

by a former owner. All the doors are the so-called Christian doors. The interior woodwork is hand-made. Of the six fireplaces, two have unusually beautiful mantels, one carved with urns and the other in the rare Sheraton Tambour design. The floor in the living room is stenciled in color, a process now considered a lost art. The room used today as a living room is the original kitchen, and has a brick oven beside its huge fireplace.

THE HOUGHTON-WHEELER HOUSE

The house situated on Sugar Road in the eastern part of the town, now owned and occupied by Amos C. Wheeler, was probably built in 1795. A deed was given by Jonathan Priest Houghton, who lived in a house at the corner of Sugar Road and the Golden Run Road, to Jonathan Priest Houghton, Jr., in 1794. This was for eighty acres of land with the west boundary a small brook. No buildings are mentioned. In 1796, Jonathan Priest Houghton, Jr., married Beulah Whitcomb. Therefore it seems likely that the house was built in 1795.

There have been many changes both inside and out, but the outside door is doubtless the original one. It is a Christian door, batten-boarded on the inside, with heavy hand-wrought hinges sunk level with the boards. There are a few H L hinges and unusual latches left, the brick oven is still in the kitchen, and one fireplace is still in use.

THE FIRST PARISH PARSONAGE

The house now owned by the First Parish was built in 1798 by Stephen Partridge Gardner, who was for many years one of Bolton's leading citizens. To this house, Mr. Gardner brought his bride, Achsah Moore, in 1798,

and here his large family of children were born. The Gardner family were musical and literary, and the cultural life of the community centered around their hearth. Three of the Gardner daughters married ministers, one married a lawyer, and one a doctor. Stephen P. Gardner died in 1841, and the place passed through the hands of a rapid succession of owners. In 1873, it was bought by the First Parish, and was used until about 1925 for a parsonage. Since then it has been rented.

This house, a fine square Colonial, has five fireplaces, a brick oven, most of its original hardware, corner beams, and wainscoting in all the rooms. In one front room, evidently the old parlor, the mantel is beautiful, being trimmed with a hand-carved molding, which is also used between the ceiling and walls and at the top of the wainscoting. In the same room are deep window-seats, with a molding trimming the window-frames.

THE DAVID HOLDER HOUSE

Just south of the Joseph Holder place is the one known as the "David Holder place," standing back from the road, up a narrow lane. Evidently built at some date previous to 1799, it was owned by twelve or more different people between 1799 and 1931, but was longest occupied by David Holder, brother of Joseph Holder, from 1828 to 1852. It did not return to the Holder family until it was purchased by George E. Dow in 1899, from Edward Burrill, who had owned it for seventeen years. In 1904, Francis T. Holder, youngest son of David Holder, wished to buy back the home of his boyhood. There was a tree made of pebbles on one end of the plaster house, which he had helped to construct. The date, 1841, was just beneath the tree.



STAIRWAY IN THE JOHN WILDER HOUSE



THE HOLMAN MANSION, BUILT IN 1741



THE PHINEAS WRIGHT HOUSE

(Francis T. Holder will be remembered as the giver of Holder Hall and a barn, constructed on the grounds of Bolton Friends Meeting House.) Mr. Holder sold the home place back to George E. Dow two years later, and in 1917, it passed out of the Holder family again to Eleanor W. Trevitt, who sold it in 1931 to the present occupant, Roscoe Tansey.

In the David Holder house are the old six-paneled doors, with their quaint hand-forged hinges and latches. The low ceilings, heavy beams, brick oven, and fireplaces make this house interesting.

THE BAPTIST PARSONAGE

The house now known as the Baptist Parsonage has been called that since 1904. On March 1, 1800, Peter Clarke bought about half an acre of land from Joseph Sawyer, but no mention was made of any buildings. In 1801, Clarke sold the property, consisting of house, barn, and land, to Joseph and Benjamin Stone. The Stones sold it to John Peck of Newton on December third of the same year. Peck kept the place about five years, selling it in 1806 to William B. Merriam, who in turn sold it, almost immediately, on March 14, 1806, to Amos Parker, a physician.

The property remained in the Parker family for the next ninety-one years, and the house became known as the "Parker House." On June 14, 1897, Miss Louisa Jane Parker, daughter of the doctor, deeded the property to Edward L. Potter for "one dollar and other considerations."

On April 26, 1904, he sold the place to Deacon and Trustee Aaron Powers of the First Baptist Church of Bolton, for "one dollar and other considerations," and it has remained in the possession of the Baptist Society ever since.

The house has been remodeled to some extent during the course of the years, but the fireplaces, many of the wide floor boards, and some of the original hand-wrought hinges and latches still remain.

THE REUBEN NEWTON HOUSE

The house at Newton's corner on the Pan between Marlborough Road and the Great Road is still occupied by one of the descendants, a great granddaughter of the Newtons.

The house was built in 1800 by Peter Moore. We know it was a small one-story, plastered building and it must have remained so, except for an added ell, until between 1857 and 1861. At that time, Reuben Newton clapboarded the outside, rearranged the rooms inside, built a Salem stairway, and widened the ell. In the room in the ell Mr. Newton and his two sons made shoes. About once a week he drove his horse to Lancaster to take back finished shoes and get cut shoes for himself and his neighbors.

During the days of 1860 and 1861 the men of the neighborhood would get together at evening mail-time over the newspaper to discuss the war. Capt. John Sawyer, James Sawyer, Dexter Bailey, and Elcanah Caswell were the usual guests of Mr. Newton, but promptly at nine o'clock they locked the door and went home.

In 1894, Mr. and Mrs. Legrand L. Brigham had the roof raised seven feet and built four rooms and a large hall on the second floor. They also put in new windows downstairs and removed the side-lights at the front door, making the building as it stands today.

Most of the original features of the old interior and exterior have been destroyed. There still remain a few old latches, some walls of Bolton lime, and a large brass set

kettle which could make about 40 gallons of apple sauce in the old days all in one cooking. The barn which is now standing is the original.

THE RANDALL HOUSE

The house on Randall Road now owned by Rufus Randall was built prior to 1805, but the exact date is not known. It is of the Cape Cod type, with three fireplaces, a brick oven, strap hinges, and a unique front door, hinged in the center because the hall was too narrow to allow a door to swing inside.

This house has been in the Randall family for 120 years, and is the only one in town owned by the same family that owned it when the 1831 map was made.

THE DANIEL SAWYER HOUSE

“Maple Lodge,” now the property of Frank A. Paine, was built in 1805, by Obededom Brown, a carpenter. The land had been a part of the farm of Beriah Oak, who lived in the Hamilton house. A few years later the house was purchased by Daniel Sawyer, a wheelwright, who carried on his business and ran the farm. He was killed in 1847 by his own horse which had been frightened by a drove of cattle.

Several years later, the property was purchased by Joel Dakin, and transferred to Aaron Powers, who had married Mrs. Dakin's niece. This place was the Powers home for many years, but about 1904 it was sold to Charles Giddings. He remodeled the interior, installing modern conveniences.

There are three fireplaces, one having the old crane and a brick oven in excellent condition. One of the two Christian doors has long strap hinges.

THE LONGLEY-VON BLOMBERG HOUSE

In 1808, Nathaniel Longley, Jr., bought from Martin and Polly Houghton, "about nine Acres of land lying in Bolton on the westerly side of the road leading by the Friends Meeting House . . . with the privilege to drain the same across my land, not discommoding travel."

Nathaniel Longley, Jr., yeoman, and Abigail, his wife, sold to Williard Walcott, housewright, in 1818, two parcels of land "about four acres and an half of land with the buildings thereon." No exact date for the erection of the buildings is obtainable.

This place changed hands many times. It was known for many years as the "Solon Wheeler" place, but is now the property of Baron Frary von Blomberg.

THE DAVID BABCOCK HOUSE

In 1809, John Frye deeded to Calvin Gates, cordwainer, twenty-two and one-half acres of land, without buildings. In 1835, Calvin Gates deeded to David Babcock, shoemaker and cobbler, the same land, with buildings. No one knows the exact year when the buildings were erected. Part of this land included the "Roper Meadow," of three acres.

Calvin Gates and David Babcock married sisters, Lydia and Elizabeth Walcutt, of Stow. The house is a story-and-a-half structure, with two ells, the northern one having been a shoe-shop. There are two fireplaces; and the strap hinges, old latches, and corner beams of the original house remain.

This house is situated on the Berlin road, where it winds across the meadows, and it is now owned by William Prachnick.

THE SQUIRE JOSEPH SAWYER HOUSE

In 1810, Joseph Sawyer and his wife, Ruth, sold to Nathan Corey, trader, "54 Rods of land situated in Bolton on the Southerly side of the post road leading from Lancaster to Boston, near my dwelling house." Nathan Corey of Stow had married Eunice, the daughter of Joseph and Ruth Sawyer, in 1802, and they had lived in Stow until they bought this place.

In 1812, Nathan Corey gave a mortgage deed of this same plot of land "with the buildings thereon, consisting of a dwelling house, store and barn thereon standing." In 1814, it was deeded to John Haskell, goldsmith, and in 1815, it was deeded to Joseph Sawyer, Jr. It changed hands three more times, until finally it became the property of Emma Sawyer, and has remained the property of the Sawyers ever since.

The house has fourteen rooms and five fireplaces. There is a central hall, through which one may walk into the garden at the rear of the house. The kitchen is unusual, having ten doors which give the effect of paneling. There one sees the huge fireplace and brick oven.

One bedroom is especially interesting, with wainscoting and a mantel that projects beyond the chimney several inches at one end. There are brass door knobs, and deep window sills, and throughout the house may be seen strap and H and L hinges, with old latches and bolts. On the whole, this house has been "modernized" less than most houses of its period.

THE POLLARD-BACON HOUSE

Although the Pollard or Century Mills are the oldest mills in Bolton, the house now standing near them is not the original house referred to in Joseph Sawyer's will. The

house now owned by the Bacon estate was built by Captain Amory Pollard. The date, 1811, is painted on the back of the house, where it has been carefully preserved. Situated on a knoll overlooking Wataquadock Brook and Meadows, with the old mills and mill-pond in the foreground, this rambling old house presents a charming picture of the traditional Colonial. Inside, the best of the old has been preserved, although conveniences for modern living have been installed.

The fine entrance doorway is original. A Christian door opens into a square hall with a three-turn stairway. The center chimney has one very large fireplace and two Franklin fireplaces. Above all three are substantial and interesting mantels, one having a fluted molding which is also used as trimming above the wainscoting.

THE JAMES N. FRY HOUSE

John Fry owned much land in the south part of Bolton, some of which he deeded to his sons as they became ready to establish homes of their own. To his son, James Neal Fry, he deeded in 1812 a parcel of land "being the southerly part of my farm." On this plot, James built a house, in which he and his wife, Ruth, lived. They had no children, and in their old age, Thomas A. Wheeler and his wife, Susan, cared for them. On the death of the Frys, Thomas A. Wheeler inherited the place, which is now in the possession of his youngest son, Jesse A. Wheeler.

THE JOSEPH HOLDER HOUSE

The house long known as the Joseph Holder homestead was evidently built between 1809 and 1813 by Stephen Pope, tanner, who operated a tannery at the edge of "Beman Brook," on the road "leading by Bolton burying yard to

Marlborough." In 1813, the place was sold to Joseph and David Holder, brothers and cordwainers (shoemakers). For many years Joseph Holder operated his own shoe-shop, which was built on the north end of the house, and in 1863, he sold the property to his son-in-law, Greeley Dow, yeoman, who had married Lydia B. Holder. Twenty-seven years later it was sold to their son George E. Dow who operated it as a farm until 1917. The next year it was sold by his heirs to Stanley Marsh, the first time it had been out of the Holder family for one hundred and five years. It is now owned and occupied by Frances E. and Charles H. Jones, formerly of Lexington.

THE J. AND J. BARNARD HOUSE

In 1810, Ame Adams bought from her husband some wood land which had been conveyed to him by his father, Oliver Adams, in 1809. In 1817, Ame Adams sold to Joel and Joab Barnard, housewrights, all the Adams farm except two small pieces of land. One of these pieces was deeded to Jacob Fisher, whose land bordered the farm on the east. Joel and Joab Barnard operated a sawmill on the creek running through this property, and built the present wooden frame Colonial house, about 1817. They married sisters, and all lived together.

This house is one of the finer Colonial houses, and has five fireplaces in constant use, with two others not open. It is believed that the house was built adjoining the "Bark House" mentioned in the deed as there is, in an ell, a very interesting old oven and chimney that will be restored sometime.

Within recent years, this house was the home of Edward A. Hackett, who was manager of the Bolton Fruit Company. It is now occupied by Arthur H. Brown.

THE DOW HOUSE

Doctor Amos Parker, the first Postmaster of Bolton, owned a plot of four acres, thirty-two rods, directly opposite his house, which he sold in 1817 to William B. Chaplin, cordwainer. This lot was bounded on the south by the Great Road, on the west by Captain Caleb Wheeler's land, and on the north and east by land of Haven Newton. Chaplin built a house and other buildings, and in 1822 he sold the property to Joseph Houghton. Chaplin lived there for some time, as he rented the property from Houghton.

In 1835, Coffin Chapin purchased the property, and immediately resold it to William Goodale. Before the year was out, it had come back into the hands of Joseph Houghton, in whose possession it remained until his death in 1847. In his will, the eastern part of the land was left to the town of Bolton as a school lot.

The house was owned for a number of years after 1868 by Deacon Aaron Powers and Joel Proctor, and was used as a parsonage for the Baptist ministers.

Joel Proctor bought the share of Deacon Powers in this house, and in 1888 sold the place to William and Ella Dow. Mr. Dow occupied the house for about thirty-four years until 1922, when it was purchased by John L. Smith.

THE ASA WHEELER, JR., HOUSE

The house now owned by Mrs. Jessie Beach was built in 1819. In July of that year, Asa Wheeler, Jr., bought from Calvin Gates an acre of land near the Gates's house, and on the road to Berlin. Asa Wheeler's wife was Mary Fry, daughter of William, and granddaughter of John Fry. In 1828, Asa sold the place to Thomas Fry, schoolmaster.

In later years, this place was the home of Mr. and Mrs. Greeley Dow. They had lived on the Joseph Holder place, where Mr. Dow had been a farmer, but they preferred a smaller place for their declining years. Mrs. Mary Graves was another owner of this place, living there about ten years. Mrs. Jessie Beach has been the owner for nine years.

The house itself is a quaint Cape Cod cottage, with a large unspoiled center chimney. It has fireplaces, a brick oven, and some of the original hardware.

THE SAWYER-KITTREDGE HOUSE

Reverend Isaac Allen owned the farm which for many years has been called the Edes place. He also owned many acres beyond the farm and on the west side of the road. In January, 1820, he sold thirty-seven rods of land to Luther Sawyer for twenty dollars. No buildings are mentioned. Sawyer very soon erected a dwelling, as in November of the same year he mortgaged for fifty dollars "37 rods of land with the bldg. thereon." A few years later, in 1824, Sawyer sold to David Southwick. Two years after he had bought the place, David Southwick was killed by a blast at the lime-quarry.

Widow Southwick and her ten children lived in the little house for sixteen years, when it was purchased by Abraham Holman, who probably bought for investment. He held it for about a year, selling to Phineas Clark in 1841. For fifty-six years it remained in the Clark family, the heirs of Mary E. Clark in 1897 selling it to Arthur B. Miner. Several others owned and occupied the place before 1909, when it was purchased by Alpheus Otterson. The present owner, Darwin A. Kittredge, is a nephew of Mr. Otterson.

This house is very quaint, having the appearance of being very old. There is a fireplace in each room, one brick oven, old latches and hinges. The ceilings throughout are very low, and at the back of the house the roof comes so far down that the back door is only five and one-half feet in height.

THE FAIRBANK-NEWTON HOUSE

The house now owned by Mrs. George Newton, on the corner of the Berlin Road and the Great Road, stood originally on the site of the present fire station. The two west rooms, upstairs and down, were once a potash shop which was moved to this lot in 1826 or 1827, and the rest of the house added to it.

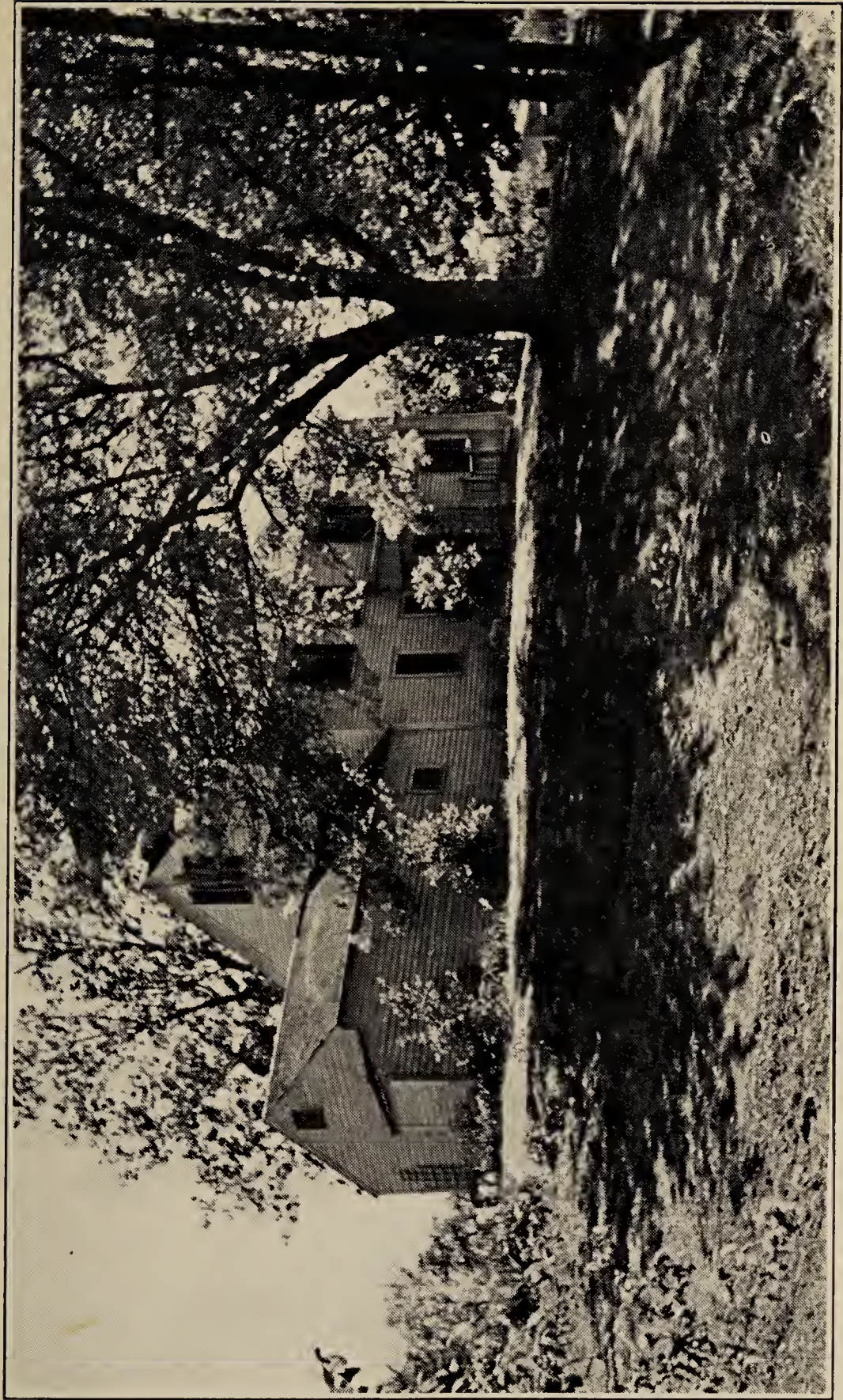
The builder was Phineas Fairbank, who sold it to Samuel Gutterson, in 1829. Samuel and his brother, Rodney Gutterson, were harness-makers, and carried on their business there for a number of years.

The house still has fifteen-pane windows on the second floor. It has two large fireplaces and a Christian door.

THE WITHINGTON-CUNNINGHAM HOUSE

On December 20, 1830, Stephen Gardner of Bolton, "in consideration of the love and affection I have for my daughter, Laurinda, and the kind offices her husband, George R. M. Withington has done for me," gave to them "a certain piece or parcel of land situated in said Bolton near the centre of the town and is a part of the farm where I now live and have improved for many years." Mr. Gardner lived in what is now the First Parish parsonage.

Laurinda Gardner and George R. M. Withington were married August 26, 1830. Their house is shown on the



THE CAPTAIN SAMUEL BAKER HOUSE



Vistas of solemn beauty, where I'd wander
In happy silence, like the clear Meander
Through its lone vales.

JOHN KEATS

1831 map. The Withingtons sold the place in 1837, and it finally came into the possession of Reverend Thomas T. Stone in 1863, remaining in that family until 1926. Reverend Mr. Stone's daughter, Mrs. Martha Waite, lived there for many years. It is now owned by Mrs. Naomi Cunningham.

This house is one of the few in town that has suffered little from remodeling. There are corner beams and wainscots, with recessed windows. Four fireplaces are open, one, in the big living-room, being made of soapstone. In the kitchen is a Dutch oven. There are Christian doors, and the fine old latches still remain on some of them. There is an unusual lock on one outside door, with a key six inches long.

THE GARDNER-POWERS HOUSE

The house on the Great Road now owned by Frank A. Powers was built by Stephen P. Gardner in 1830, and presented to his son, Theodore, on his marriage. It was sold to David Carpenter in 1855. After his wife's death, it passed to his daughter, Ellen K. Powers, and after the death of her husband, Amos H. Powers, it passed to Frank A. Powers, the present owner.

The only changes in the original house have been the addition of a bay window on the east side, and a shed on the same side, which is of older construction than the house itself. There is a Dutch oven in the cellar where the summer kitchen is located, and four other fireplaces in the house. The hardware on the doors is all original. Some have brass knobs, and others wooden, and some have pewter and iron handles. The only set of H and L hinges is in the cellar.

THE JACKSON-SPRAGUE HOUSE

In 1831, Simon Cunningham made a contract with Amory Holman, a neighbor, to dig and build a cellar, on which Cunningham built the house now standing at the corner of the Great Road and Harvard Road. On the east side of Harvard Road stood a tannery and barn which Simon Cunningham also owned.

In 1842, the buildings and land were purchased by Partmon and Olinder Houghton. They lived there until they moved to Eastport, Maine, where Mr. Houghton became prominent as a merchant.

Edward Hall, a tailor, and Abigail his wife, of Quincy, purchased the property in 1848, for the sum of \$1500. They sold the place nine years later to Abigail Hall's brother, Rufus C. Nourse. He is said to have been a carpenter by trade, and his wife, Abby Nourse, was a tailoress. Abby Nourse and her sons retained the farm for thirty years. In 1887, it was sold to Jonathan E. Heywood, of Braintree, who very soon transferred it to George and Lydia Jackson. George Jackson was a horse trader, collected old carriages, and was also noted for his ability to whistle, his flute-like notes often being heard throughout the neighborhood.

In May, 1910, the Jacksons sold the place to Mrs. Eleanor W. Trevitt, who lived there with her son, Harry, tax collector, assessor, and member of the Board of Public Welfare. They did much to improve the property, planting the lilac hedge which surrounds the house, and also the pines.

Walter L. and Mary E. Sprague, of Worcester and Lawrence, purchased the home and farm in May, 1917. Before taking up his business in Bolton, Mr. Sprague was a traveling salesman. He became interested in the town, and

accepted the office of Tax Collector, which he held from January, 1924, to September, 1931. In 1925, he established an insurance agency, which he still holds. Mrs. Sprague was elected Town Treasurer in September, 1923, and still holds the office.

THE SAWYER-OSTERTAG HOUSE

In 1855, Joseph and Nathan Sawyer sold to John Wallis "a certain tract of land with buildings thereon." This consisted of the house lot facing the street, and a strip of land back of the other houses as far as the Berlin Road, "Always excepting certain privileges granted to Joel Sawyer and Phineas Fairbank" by the deed recorded at Worcester. This deed was dated 1833, and one of these privileges was that "of raising their pond" (the present Mill Pond) "by a dam so regulated by a waste way as not to flow within eight inches of the level of the bottom of the cellar under the new house lately built by the grantors." The "new house" referred to is shown on the 1831 map, and tradition says it was built in Lancaster and moved to its present location by George Sawyer, brother of Joseph and Nathan, a house mover. It is a well-made house, with handmade latches and one open fireplace.

The house was for many years the home of Amory Haynes, Town Clerk, and is now owned and occupied by William Ostertag.

XVI

INNS

There is nothing which has yet been contrived by man by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn.

SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN days when travel was entirely by horseback or by horse-drawn vehicles, inns or taverns were a necessity. The entertainment of wayfarers was, however, but a small part of a country innholder's business. The inn was usually an ordinary farmhouse, one room in it being fitted up as a tap-room for the sale of strong drink. One or two rooms were set aside for the accommodation of travelers, who were furnished with ordinary country food.

The innholder was obliged to obtain a county license for which he had to be recommended by the selectmen of the town. The earliest license fees were paid on the basis of two-pence per quart for all liquor sold. In 1757, it is noted that the license fee was a flat rate of £10 and the innholders were required to be bonded in the sums of £50 and £25.

Very strict regulations governed all inns of this period. The prices of both food and drink were fixed by the Court. The landlord, of necessity a responsible person and often an official of the town or a deacon of the church, had, as one of his duties, to turn out any tipplers at nine o'clock. The tavern was the center of much of the social and political life of the community. Nightly a jolly company congregated in the barroom, and around the blazing fire of logs that

roared and crackled in the wide-throated chimney many a song was sung and many a joke was cracked.

In the red coals upon the hearth lay the hot pokers used in the brewing of flip. Flagons, tankards, decanters, toddy bowls, with their toddy sticks, stood on mantel shelf, table, or bar. In the chimney corner sat the old soldier, recounting for all who would listen hair-raising tales of scalplings and burnings. To the tavern came the latest news, by word of mouth or later in one of the tiny and ill-printed sheets which were the first newspapers.

The earliest inn in Bolton territory was that of David Whitcomb, who was licensed in 1718. The inn probably catered to the liquor trade more than to the accommodation of travelers. However, the most traveled road from the Bay towns to Harvard territory went by its door, leaving the Bay Road at Brockway's corner, following Sugar Road to Golden Run Road, and turning right toward Harvard at the Gilbert Wheeler Place. It is likely, therefore, that some travelers lodged at the inn.

The Whitcomb inn is still standing after more than two hundred years. For many years it was known as the "Old Carville place," and in 1937 it was purchased by Philip Phillips of Cambridge, who is having it restored.

By following the same road a few years later, the traveler would come to another tavern, noted all over the countryside for its fine dancing green and the quality of the music produced by an ancient fiddler. This inn, like others of its day, had been nearly forgotten until Miss Clara Endicott Sears of Harvard wrote its story in "The Romance of Fiddler's Green." A statement by Miss Sears in the preface that the inn was not fiction and that she knew the spot where it stood, led to a careful investigation of maps and deeds.

Jonathan Houghton was an innholder for several years before the incorporation of the town, and for two years afterwards. Jacob Houghton's land was on both sides "of the road that passes to Barehill." In 1736, Jacob deeded to his son Jonathan a part of his homestead farm, "it being that portion upon which said son hath built himself a house." A later deed refers to the "pond hole" as being on the bounds of Jonathan's land. It is known that a house once stood on the northwest corner of the so-called Green Road and the road to Harvard, probably facing the triangle on which the Gilbert Wheeler house now stands. This triangle was doubtless the green "where the feet of those long since gone, have danced to the fiddler's tune! Young feet dancing — old feet joining in at slower pace; up and down the green and round and round they tread the measure . . . and over the smooth turf of Fiddler's Green the feet of the dancers dance to the tune of the fiddle!"

Thomas Ball had an inn license for twelve years from 1738 to 1749. In his inn were held all the town meetings after the first until the building of the meetinghouse. It is known that his inn was on the Bay Road and also that it was on Wataquadock. Tradition places it on the southeastern corner of Wataquadock and Bay Path.

Not far from Thomas Ball's inn was the house of Dr. Daniel Greenleaf. He held an inn license for the years 1750 and 1751.

The Wilder Mansion was built by Josiah Richardson in the year Bolton was incorporated. Two years later, in 1740, he obtained a license for an inn, but did not renew his license, however, and in 1741 sold his property to John Richardson of Roxbury, a distiller. Caleb Richardson, son of John, ran the place as an inn for seventeen years. Caleb

was an important man in the town, holding many offices. His business, however, did not prosper and he went into bankruptcy.

Jonathan Robbins, who ran an inn for fourteen years from 1747 to 1762, at one time owned nearly the whole of the triangular tract of land on which the first meeting-house, the pound, and Reverend Thomas Goss's house were located. He also owned land on the easterly side of the Berlin Road, near the meetinghouse. He owned fourteen acres on the northerly side of the Great Road, not far from the present Post Office. The site of his inn is not known, but the last named location would seem the most logical.

The inn of Samuel Jones was located in Berlin. "Landlord Jones" carried on his inn for twenty-seven years while Berlin was still a part of Bolton, and for several years after Berlin was incorporated. Fortunatus Barnes was also of Berlin, having his inn on Barnes' Hill.

John Temple, who had a retail license for the years 1781, 1782, and 1783, lived in the Goding house on the Pan. His deed to the place calls him a "cordwainer." Peter Tenney, in 1792, bought the same place and obtained a retailer's license for that year.

Jonathan Whitcomb, Jr., lived in the east part, probably near the site of the house now owned by Mrs. Catherine Leary. Thomas Osborne, who lived on the corner opposite Jonathan Whitcomb, Jr., built his house in 1789 or 1790, and for fourteen years held an innholder's license.

Colonel Caleb Wheeler had a house a little west of the present Post Office, either on the site of the Everett house or John Smith's house. He ran an inn there for eleven years.

A number of those who obtained licenses had stores, and a part of the stock in trade invariably was "West India

Goods.” For thirteen years Stephen P. Gardner ran a store in a separate building near his house, having a retailer’s license to sell liquor. Joseph Sawyer, who had a store in his house (now owned by Miss Ora Sawyer), had a license for twenty years. C. C. Moore, town treasurer for many years, ran a store in the building now used as a summer cottage on the estate of Lowell T. Clapp. Moore had a liquor license for seven years. Woodbury and Holman ran the Brick Store for a number of years, and from 1827–1835, William Woodbury had a license to sell liquor there.

In 1730, John Beaman deeded to Nathaniel Hapgood the land near Long Hill on both sides of the road and bounded on the north by Wigwam Brook. On this property, Hapgood built a house which, in 1746, he deeded to his son-in-law, Paul Gates, who had married Hapgood’s daughter, Submit. Eleven years later Paul Gates sold this homestead to General John Whitcomb, who soon transferred it to Abraham Holman. Four generations of Abraham Holmans lived in the old house, Abraham 2d and Abraham 3d being innholders. The first Abraham was the father of a numerous family, Silas, of inn and stagecoach fame, being the eldest son. Abraham 2d died in 1804, his son Abraham 3d carrying on the tavern business until his death in 1815 at the age of thirty-one. He had married, in 1805, Azuba Whitcomb, granddaughter of General John Whitcomb.

Upon the death of Abraham 3d the tavern passed from the Holman family to John Earl, who sold it a year later to Joseph Hildreth. Hildreth operated the inn from 1817 to 1835, when he sold it to two brothers, Henry and Albert Sprague of Barre. Henry Sprague had an inn license until 1842. Two years later, he sold the inn to Nathaniel Burgess, who ran it for only a year until his death.

The old inn once more came into possession of a Whitcomb when the administration of Burgess' estate sold it to Edwin A. Whitcomb (Squire Ed.). It was never used as an inn after 1844, and in 1868 was sold to M. Henry Mentzer. Although fire destroyed it in 1890, the Mentzers still preserve the old door-stone and foot-scraper which, tradition says, were touched by the feet of Lafayette as he stopped for refreshment on the long dusty ride from Stow to Bolton, when he visited his friend S. V. S. Wilder in 1824.

William Woodbury's tavern was well known for twenty-five years in the early 1800's. It was a brick building and stood opposite the driveways to the Town House and the church. Here on Sunday Reverend Isaac Allen's parishioners partook of a bit of spirituous refreshment between the long morning and afternoon sessions of spiritual refreshment in the Meetinghouse across the road. Here, also, the ladies obtained fresh coals for their foot-stoves for the afternoon service.

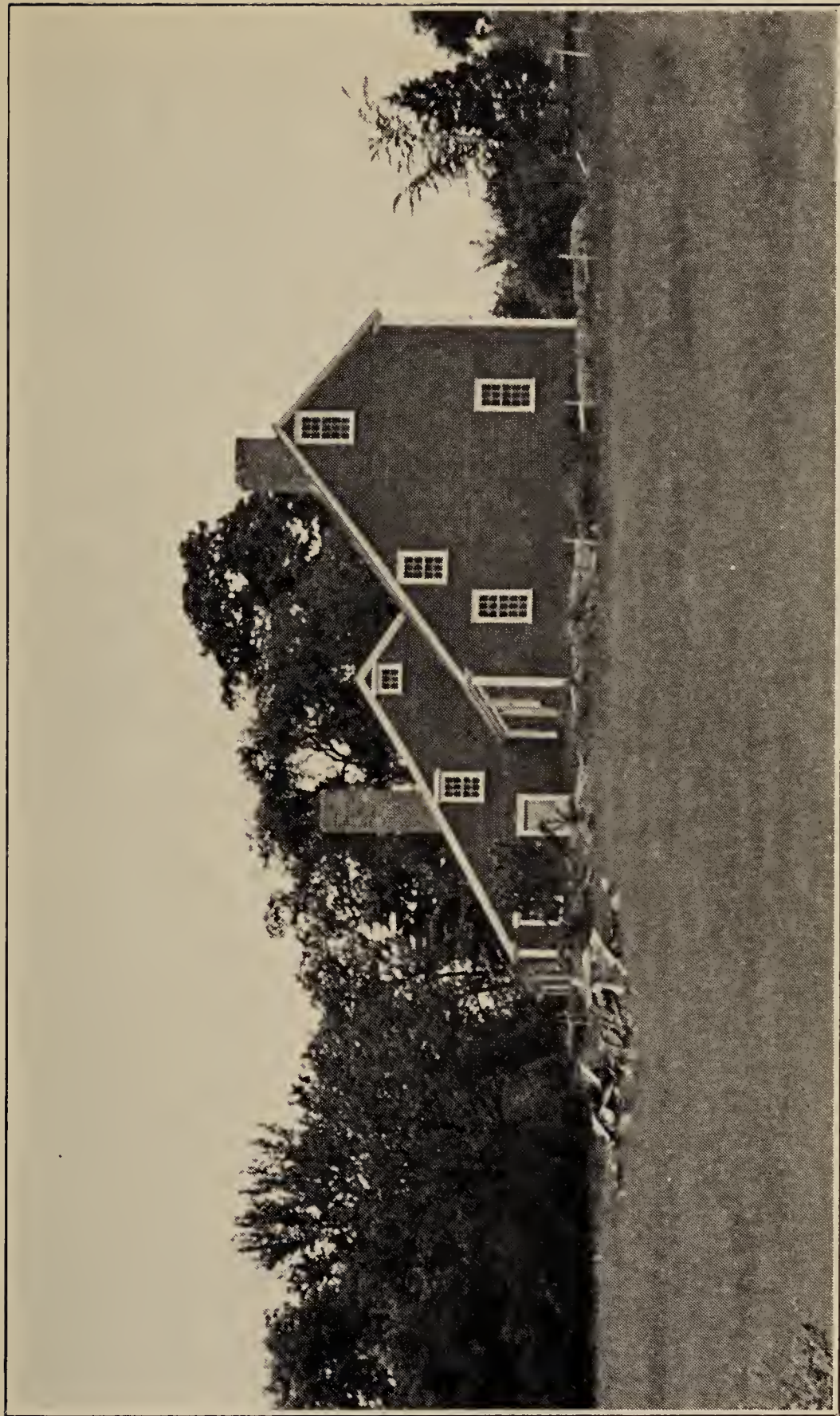
In 1842, the County Commissioners refused to grant licenses to those applying from Bolton. A hearing was held "for and against," but the records do not show the outcome. The next year, Amory Holman and Elbridge Houghton were licensed as innholders, without authority to sell intoxicating liquors "on the ground of an unreasonable refusal to approbate on the part of the Selectmen." From that year no more liquor licenses were granted, but inn licenses were granted until 1858, when the last inn was sold.

The complete story of Bolton's most famous inn cannot be told in a few paragraphs; in fact, an entire book would hardly hold all the story of the Holman Tavern, its close connection with the business of the whole countryside, and

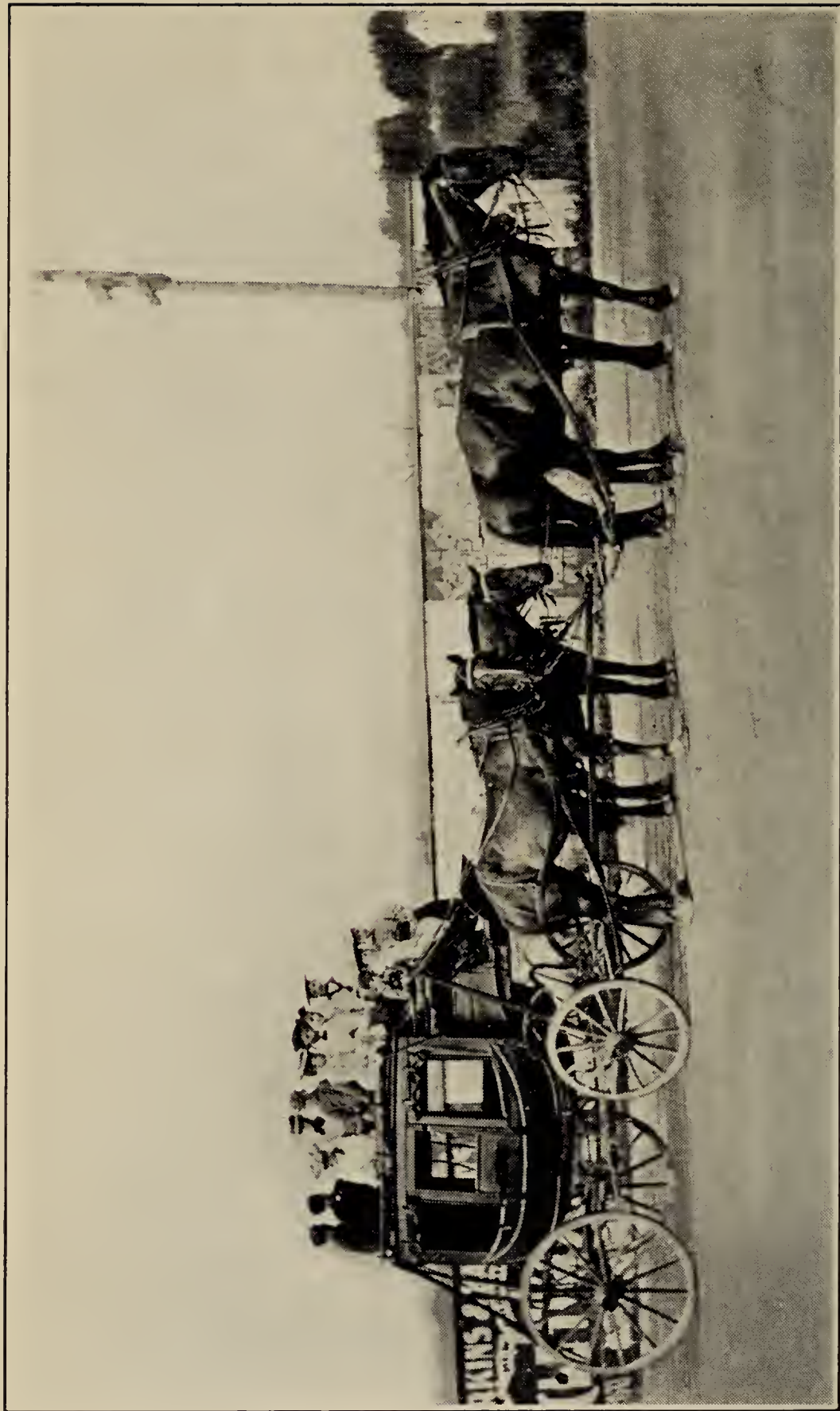
with the social and political life of the people. The place, made famous by the Holmans, was not built by a Holman, nor was it built for an inn ; in its early days it probably held slight resemblance to the busy and prosperous tavern it became in the first half of the nineteenth century. Dr. William Swan built the Holman Inn some time before 1767, having bought twenty acres of land from William Wilder in 1760. Dr. John Barnard, a surgeon in the Revolution, purchased the property from Dr. Swan, and in 1773 transferred it to Eliakim Atherton, who had evidently lived there at least a year, as he had applied for an innholder's license in 1772. Atherton was a blacksmith and he may have carried on that trade while his capable wife, Elizabeth, managed the inn. At any rate, Mrs. Atherton must have been well acquainted with the details of inn management as, after Eliakim's death in 1786, she was licensed as an innholder for four consecutive years. She married Captain Thaddeus Pollard in 1790, and Silas Holman, husband of her daughter Betsy, took over the tavern in that year.

Stagecoach routes had begun to function regularly, and the Holman Inn became a popular stopping place. General Holman became financially interested in some of the stage routes, his time being taken up more and more by his business away from home. In 1806, he hired John Pinks to manage the inn, and from 1809 to 1817, Thaddeus Pollard, son of Captain Thaddeus, was the innkeeper.

Amory Holman, the General's second son, having come of age, obtained a license in 1818. Although he doubtless hired an innkeeper and much other help, the license remained in his name for forty years. The stagecoach routes, of which the Holmans were owners, all made the Holman Inn a regular stop. The inn became famous far and near for



DAVID WHITCOMB'S INN



THE CONCORD COACH

its cordial hospitality and excellent food. Added patronage required extra room; wings were added and huge horse-sheds and stables built. Across the road from the inn a horse-shed was built which is reputed to have been one hundred feet long. The large barn in which General Holman kept the horses used for the relays on the stage routes is still standing, and is owned by Arthur Miner. A very long wing ran from the inn eastward, the lower part of which was used as a shed for the horses of transient guests, while above were rooms. A ballroom in the inn was often used for all kinds of gatherings. Much of the social life of Bolton and of surrounding towns centered around the "New Year's Ball," the "Leap Year Party," and the "Fourth of July Ball" held in the Holman ballroom.

Many Bolton people were employed at the inn, and many came from other towns to work here. Among the employees at the inn in 1845, were Mason Wheeler of Royalston and Sarah Richardson of Leominster. They were married in 1847, and several of their descendants are still residents of the town.

Toward the middle of the century the inn business decreased rapidly, due to the building of railroads and the consequent discontinuation of stagecoach routes. Before 1858, General Holman had torn down the sheds across the road from the inn, and the material had been used in the construction of three houses. On March 4, 1858, all the Holman property was sold at "public vendue." A wing of the old inn was moved to a lot opposite the meetinghouse and remodeled into a house, which is now owned by Perley Sawyer.

The inn itself, its years of glory over, came upon evil days. It had one occupant after another, and was some-

times vacant. During the building of the railroad through Bolton in the 1870's, one of the contractors hired it for the accommodation of his laborers. In September, 1876, in the *Clinton Courant*, appeared this item: "The old tavern place, sold some months since, and which in larger or in smaller dimensions, has been familiar to local inhabitants and to travelers for more than a hundred years, is now either pulled down or moved away. Even the stones from the cellar wall have been removed and incorporated into other walls near the spot or farther away. . . . It was said to be the best house of entertainment between Boston and the Connecticut River. It is now razed to the ground and its foundation walls obliterated."

INNOLDERS

David Whitcomb	1718-1720	Jeremiah Wilson	1778-1779
Thomas Ball	1738-1749	Josiah Moore	1778-1779
Jonathan Houghton	1737-1739	Oliver Whitney	1780
Josiah Richardson	1740	Stephen Bailey	1780-1782
Jabez Beaman	1741-1746	Fortunatus Barnes	1781-1783
Jonathan Robbins	1747-1762	Jonathan Houghton	1781-1783
Daniel Greenleaf	1750-1751	John Temple	1781-1783
Caleb Richardson	1754-1771	Robert Ruggles	1782-1785,
Samuel Jones (Berlin)	1756-1783		1795
Joshua Townsend	1756-1760	Thomas Chase	1785
Joshua Townsend, Jr.	1760-1764	John Barnard	1787-1792
Samuel Moore	1765-1768	Elizabeth Atherton	1787-1790
Michael Newhall	1769-1776	Samuel Blood	1788
Abel Moore	1770-1773	Thomas Osborne	1790-1803
Hooker Sawyer	1771	Silas Holman	1791-1805
John Moore, Jr.	1772-1776	Peter Tenney	1792
Eliakim Atherton	1772-1776,	John Richardson	1792-1793
	1780-1787	S. P. Gardner	1793-1805
Abraham Holman	1776,	Joshua Patch	1794
	1794-1815	Timothy Jones	1795

Joel Cranson	1797, 1803	John Earl	1816
Silas Reed	1798-1799	Joseph Hildreth	1817-1835
Shubael C. Allen	1800	John Haskell	1817-1818
John Read	1800-1803	Amory Holman	1818-1858
William B. Merriam	1804-1809	J. Sawyer, Jr.	1820-1839
Asa Whitcomb	1804	Alpheus Moore	1827-1834
Jonathan Whitcomb, Jr.	1806	William Woodbury	1827-1835
John Pinks	1806-1808	C. C. Moore	1835-1841
Thaddeus Pollard	1809-1817	Henry Sprague	1836-1841
Caleb Moore	1809	Abraham Holman	1839
Nathan Corey	1809-1812	Elbridge Houghton	1843
William Woodbury	1810-1835	Nathaniel Burgess	1844
Caleb Wheeler	1811-1821		

XVII

THE STAGECOACH

Long ago, at the end of the route,
The stage pulled up, and the folks stepped out.

Stagecoach and Tavern Days

THERE is, indeed, little comparison between the means of transportation of today and that of two hundred years ago except that there still exists the dogged determination that the mail and passengers must reach their destination on time, and in good condition. The stage drivers of two centuries ago suffered many hardships and discomforts, little realizing the great step they were taking toward the progress of the nation.

General Amory Holman deserves all the credit due him, for it was he who first organized regular stagecoach routes in this part of the country. Prior to 1827, when the Bolton and Lancaster Stage Company was formed, there were a few very unreliable stages running from Boston, via Bolton, as far north as Brattleboro, Vermont, but they were mainly passenger coaches with the mail as a side line. Many times they neglected to stop at small post offices along the route, thus delaying the mail for several days.

For the next five years, 1827-1832, the Bolton and Lancaster Stage Company was for the convenience of the traveling public only. The headquarters was in Bolton where the inn and stables were. At one time there were as many as ninety horses kept on the grounds. In 1832,

however, the United States Government made a contract with General Holman to carry the mail regularly from Boston to Brattleboro, six times a week, for \$2900 a year. If he failed to make connection with the waiting stages he had to pay a forfeit of \$50. At the same time General Holman made a contract with Isaac Abercrombie to carry mail and passengers from Boston to Albany, New York, three times a week for \$3000 a year, with the same forfeit.

From this time on, General Holman sublet contracts to at least twelve drivers to carry mail all over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and part of Vermont. Naturally there was a great deal of enmity and competition between General Holman's stage company and rival companies. This is a typical letter of complaint :

Sudbury Sept 18th 1835

Genl Holman

When your stage first Started from Fitchburg by Jewett and Fox whether you was concerned in it or not I dont know I began to Pattronise it. and have continued it ever since not only my Self but have takin as much pains to have my folks and others take it as though I had an interest in it. I have left my store and been to your stage office at least one Hundred times first and last. with Strangers that they might take your line just because I felt an interest in it — and have been treated So well by you, and your drivers but of late there Seems to be a coolness or lack of attention — accept by Maynard who is always all attention — I come up last Tuesday I gave the driver express orders to call on Thursday for me as I have in the Same way for three week — and thay have not called either time for me — the first time I run a horse to Wheelock, and over took the Stage — last week I was left and had to go with Day, the next day — now I am left again — you may think it a Small disappointment but my business calls me at both places, and when I

am ready I want to go — now if our custom is worth any thing to you — you must run Stages on this road unless in deep Snows or Some other trouble on the road. as I cant come up hear and Spend half my time run after the Stages or not know when or how I can get home there is no difference in length or road, and if the Staging dont come this way I Shall take it for granted you dont want our custom. and Shall never Say any more about it, if you Se fit to Send for me I am yours affectionately

William Parker

As General Holman was a very shrewd and diplomatic person, the differences were gradually ironed out satisfactorily.

Passenger fares changed frequently and without notice but in 1833 the rate was about three cents a mile, making the fare from Bolton to Boston \$1.00 and from Bolton to Brattleboro \$3.17. Waybills have been found which merely state whether the passenger was a lady or gentleman. They were frequently listed as "Miss Lady," "Gent," "Mr. Baby," etc. Evidently the name and address was of very little importance. A "babe-in-arms" was charged for one-third of a fare, but if it was old enough to occupy a seat, the parents paid for half of a fare. Each passenger was allowed forty pounds of luggage; if he had more, he was obliged to pay for another seat.

It is said because of crowded schedules the rate of speed was at least ten miles an hour, making it necessary to change the horses every twelve miles.

About 1838, there was considerable talk about a railroad being built which would run from Boston to Keene through Bolton. Naturally, General Holman was very much concerned about this and it is said he went to Washington to protest. No record has been found which tells of the outcome but it is reasonable to assume that he at least succeeded in preventing the road from going through Bolton.

In 1840, however, a railroad line was established from Worcester to Keene, via Fitchburg, which greatly detracted from General Holman's route from Fitchburg northward. From that time on the business gradually dwindled down to almost nothing. A few years later, in 1858, all the Holman property was offered for sale at an auction. Everything was sold except the homestead, now "The Country Manor," and the Holmans continued to live there until the early years of the twentieth century, when it passed out of the family.

XVIII

POST OFFICE

Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stay these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed round.

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

BEFORE the Revolution a postal system, established by Royal authority, had been in operation. It included only the largest towns, delivery being once a week, once in two weeks, or in some cases only once a month. At the outbreak of the Revolution, the system ceased to operate.

The service was re-established in July, 1775, under the direction of Benjamin Franklin, the first Postmaster General. It should be borne in mind that in 1776 there were only twenty-eight post offices in the whole country. These, of course, were far apart and a regular system of mail routes was just beginning to function. For twenty years Bolton's nearest post office was Cambridge.

At this time, the mail was carried from one post office to another by news-carriers or post-riders, who usually had a weekly route. Letters addressed to people living far from post offices were delivered by the courtesy of the news-carrier or by some friendly neighbor. As Bolton was situated on the regular route from Boston to Northampton, it probably received better service than many of the small towns. In the absence of a post office, letters were usually left at the tavern, the tavern keeper endeavoring to see that the proper addressee finally received them. Months must have elapsed

many times between the writing and the reading of a letter. The news-carrier performed other duties besides that of delivering letters. He carried such newspapers as were printed in those days, and probably dispensed much word-of-mouth news. The following is an advertisement of the Boston to Deerfield (via Bolton, Lancaster, etc.) news-carrier in the *New England Chronicle* for October 19–October 26, 1775:

— SILENT WILDE —

NEWS-CARRIER TO DEERFIELD &C.

BEGS Leave to inform his Customers that the Time of his last Engagement ends on the 9th Day of November next, when he earnestly hopes for punctual Payment at the usual Places of receiving their Papers. He likewise earnestly desires hereby to give Publick Notice, that he proposes, on suitable Encouragement to ride weekly, his usual Road for the term of six months next ensuing the said 9th Day of November and to supply each subscriber with one of the publick News-Papers at One Dollar each, provided each Subscriber shall at the beginning of the said six Months pay the one Half of said Dollar. He would likewise take this Opportunity to call upon those who are in arrears with them for the past services, kindly to Consider that he stands in great Need of what is due to him.

Shutesbury, October 16, 1775.

There was no public conveyance for travelers until some years later. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, numerous stage routes were in existence. The Boston to Brattleboro stage passed through Bolton four times a week, on Thursday and Saturday from Boston and on Monday and Wednesday from Brattleboro.

On December 5, 1808, the first post office was established here with the local physician, Dr. Amos Parker, as Postmaster. The office was in the ell of Dr. Parker's house.

This house is now owned by the Baptist Society and is used as the parsonage. The ell was removed many years ago.

Although Dr. Parker probably handled less mail in a year than the post office now handles in a week, it would seem that he was, to say the least, not overpaid for his services. He received the sum of \$24.35 for the year 1825. A country doctor of one hundred years ago evidently did not despise even so small an amount as twenty-four dollars, as Dr. Parker kept the office for forty-two years, until 1850, when Abraham Holman was appointed.

Although the stage went through Bolton four times a week, the mail contract called for delivery only once weekly. The route in 1815, 1816, 1817 is described as follows: from Boston by Charlestown, West Cambridge, Stow, Bolton, Lancaster, Westminster, Templeton, Gerry, Athol, Orange, Warwick, Winchester, Hinsdale, to Brattleboro. The contractor at this time was Thomas Peabody.

The stage left Boston at five A.M. and arrived in Bolton before noon and continued on to Westminster, where the night was spent. It arrived in Brattleboro the next day. On the return trip it left Brattleboro at four A.M., arriving in Westminster at eight P.M. It reached Boston the next night at eight P.M., in all a distance of ninety-six miles.

The postage rates in effect at the time the Bolton office was established were as follows: for every letter composed of a single sheet of paper, conveyed not exceeding 40 miles, 8 cents; over 40 and not exceeding 90 miles, 10 cents; over 90 and not exceeding 150 miles, 12½ cents; over 150 miles and not exceeding 300, 17 cents; over 300 and not exceeding 500 miles, 25 cents; and every double letter, or two pieces of paper, double said rates; every triple letter, or three pieces of paper, triple rates; and for every packet

composed of four or more pieces of paper, or other things, and weighing one ounce avoirdupois, quadruple said rates, and in that proportion for any greater weight. The postage was usually not prepaid but was collected on delivery.

By 1835, the Boston, Lancaster, and Fitchburg Accommodation Stage, owned in part by General Holman, was in operation. This gave Bolton more frequent mail service, as the stage left Boston three times a week, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; and left Fitchburg on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Their starting time was 5 A.M., the stage from Boston arriving in Bolton about 10 A.M. The stage from Fitchburg arrived somewhat earlier but brought only a small amount of mail. These stages also carried passengers; the fare from Boston to Fitchburg was \$2.12½, from Boston to Bolton, \$1.22½.

The stage routes were discontinued after railroads came into common use. Bolton, however, because it was not on a railroad, continued to receive mail by stage for many years. During part of this time the point of supply was Feltonville (Hudson), and for a number of years the mail came to Bolton Station. William Dow operated a stage line for many years, carrying passengers and freight. He was awarded the mail contract in 1905, and every four years thereafter until he retired in 1921. Only once in all these years did he fail to "get the mail through."

In 1921, the contract was awarded to John L. Smith who put a motor vehicle on the route for the first time. Mr. Smith carried the mail for four years until 1925, when the contract was awarded to Arthur S. Felton, who has had it since.

The rural route was established on January 16, 1905. Mr. Albert Syze was appointed from a field of ten who took

the Civil Service Examination. The route was twenty-four miles in length, most of it being over unimproved roads. Mr. Syze served his route faithfully for nearly twenty-eight years and was retired on November 30, 1932, having reached compulsory retirement age. Edwin M. Popp succeeded him, appointed by transfer from the Clinton Post Office.

In 1915, the Stow route was discontinued, and three miles were added to the Bolton route. On February 1, 1933, upon the retirement of the Berlin rural carrier, a consolidation was effected, whereby one carrier serves both Berlin and Bolton, his headquarters being Bolton. Several small additions have been made to the route at various times and it is now forty-three miles in length.

For a number of years between 1855 and 1873, Miss Rosina (Siney) Bell worked in the post office and was usually referred to as "the Postmistress." Although the records of the Post Office Department do not show this, it is almost certain that "Siney" Bell's father, James Bell, was Postmaster at some time during that period. Mr. Bell's granddaughter, now living in Egypt, Massachusetts, states that he was Postmaster and that "Aunt Siney" ran the office. The following certificate taken from the town records would seem to bear out this statement, although it is interesting for other reasons :

May 23, 1855

This is to certify that James Bell has been duly appointed and authorized as Agent of the Town of Bolton to purchase intoxicating liquors and sell same for medicinal, chemical, and mechanical purposes, or to be used in the arts and no other. Said liquors to be sold from the building now occupied as Post Office in the center of Bolton.

Signed by the Selectmen

The building referred to is the same building now in use as the post office. Later, the office was moved to the "Brick Store," during the terms of George B. Newton and James H. Hurlbut. In 1895, upon the appointment of Dr. O. A. Everett, the office again occupied the present building, where it has remained since.

It is interesting to note the increase in business done by the post office as shown in the Postmasters' salaries. Postmaster Parker received \$24.35 for the year 1825; Postmaster Abraham Holman received \$113.66 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1853; Samuel Kendal, for nine months July 1–April 14, 1855, received \$116.02; Joshua Sawyer received \$171.39 for the year 1857; for the year 1867, Ezra Moore received \$200; in 1875, George B. Newton received \$234.01. By 1927, the receipts of the office had increased to such an extent that it was advanced to third-class rating. At that time the international money order business was established here. Domestic money order business had been established at the Bolton office on October 17, 1892.

It is hard to realize the great increase in mail over a comparatively short space of time. This is due partly to the introduction of new services by the Post Office Department, such as the carrying of newspapers, magazines, parcel post, advertising matter, the registry, insurance, C. O. D. and money order systems, the special delivery service, and the air mail service. It is also due to the great increase in letter writing and card sending on holidays, especially at Christmas time. The sales of stamps in December of two different years will illustrate this clearly. In December, 1892, the stamp sales of the Bolton office totaled \$31.91; the stamp sales for December, 1937, reached the amount of \$497.97.

Following is a list of Postmasters of the Bolton Post Office with dates of appointment. This list was furnished through the kindness of Honorable K. P. Aldrich, Chief Inspector of the Post Office Department.

POSTMASTERS	DATE APPOINTED
Amos Parker	December 5, 1808
Abraham Holman	November 19, 1850
Samuel W. Kendal	October 11, 1853
Joshua E. Sawyer	April 5, 1855
Ezra S. Moore	January 16, 1866
George B. Newton	March 27, 1873
James H. Hurlbut	January 21, 1888
Oliver A. Everett	December 24, 1895
Mrs. Charlotte M. Everett	May 28, 1919
Edwin C. Pardee (Acting)	May 31, 1930
Mrs. Esther K. Whitcomb (Acting)	October 1, 1930
Mrs. Esther K. Whitcomb	December 9, 1930



THE POLLARD-BACON HOUSE



CENTURY MILLS

XIX

INDUSTRIES

The creaking old mill is still, . . .
Since you and I were young.

G. W. JOHNSON

SAWMILLS AND GRIST MILLS

As far as can be ascertained, the first sawmills and grist mills in Bolton were on the site of the mills known for many years as the Pollard Mills, now called Century Mills and owned by Charles E. Bacon of Boston and Paul V. Bacon of Wellesley. In the will of Joseph Sawyer, dated 1739, he refers to "20 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land, on the easterly side of Pine Hill, so called, being near where sd. Sawyer (Thomas) hath built a mill." He also refers to "ye Corne mill and ye saw mill." Joseph's will mentions twenty acres, "near where ye old saw mill stood on Wadaquadock Brook." He bequeathed to his son, Thomas, "29 acres of land where sd. Thomas liveth with house and saw-mill near Pine Hill."

In 1764, the Selectmen laid out a road following the Old Marlborough Road, or Bay Path. In the description of this highway, Century Mills are mentioned. The road passed directly in front of them, over the top of the dam, and circled the mill pond on the opposite side.

Century Mills have been used in fairly recent years. Doctor George A. Bacon bought the property in 1916, and sawed lumber one year. The grist mill was used for a very

short time, being operated by Arthur Felton, who was employed by Doctor Bacon.

Sawyer's mills on the Pan, contrary to general belief, were not built by a Sawyer. In 1750, Samuel Baker, called in the deed a tanner, bought from John Osborne twenty acres of land, without buildings. He erected a sawmill, a tan yard, and a house. The sawmill was on the Great Brook, and the owner had the right to flow the meadows from November tenth to May tenth. There are those still living who can remember the huge skating pond formed by the flowing of the meadows and the many skating parties held there.

Cranberry bogs covered the Pan meadows in former days, receiving protection from frost by the water that covered them until May tenth. Many an attic still contains one or more of the old wooden cranberry rakes, and a hand-made basket which was used in gathering the cranberries.

The Sawyer mills had several owners before 1791, when Benjamin Sawyer bought the property. He erected the grist mill, which received its water power from West Pond, this insuring a fairly steady supply the year through. In 1827, Benjamin Sawyer deeded the two mills, mentioning especially the water rights, to his son John, who operated them for many years. In 1870, John Sawyer, probably wishing to retire, deeded the mills to his son, John F. Sawyer. The sawmill was seldom used after 1880, and it gradually fell into disrepair. The grist mill was still in running order in 1899, when the heirs of John F. Sawyer sold it to James G. Dow, in whose possession it burned.

Another well-known sawmill was in the center of the town, using as power the water of the mill pond and the reserve pond now used in winter as a skating pond. This mill was

built between 1831 and 1833, by Joel Sawyer, who had started out in life as a watchmaker. He often boasted that he had made wheels in diameter from one-fourth of an inch to twelve feet. Joel owned the house east of his mill, which he had bought soon after his marriage in 1831. Between his house and the mill pond stood the engine house. This is mentioned in the 1833 deed to the mill property, and was doubtless the earliest "fire house" in Bolton.

Joel Sawyer was also a wheelwright and had erected a blacksmith shop a little to the west of his mill. Coffins were also made in his mill. The selectmen, in 1861, made a contract with Joel Sawyer to furnish coffins for adults at five dollars each, and for children at three dollars each.

S. V. S. Wilder was the owner of two mills, one on Russell's Pond which is directly back of the Wilder Mansion, and the other one half mile farther down the same water-course, probably opposite the house owned by Mr. Beckner. In a letter dated May 21, 1833, to Major Alpheus Moore, who looked after Mr. Wilder's Bolton interests in his absence, these mills are mentioned :

I trust you are making good progress with the Saw-Mill and for certain reasons, which I will hereafter explain, I want you to have the water-wheel & the upper part of the building all completed, so that a Machine may be put in operation in the upper room *by the middle of July*; this is important for your interest as well as mine. I hope, you will have the timbers in this Mill so large & the frame so well braced, that the upper room will not tremble, when the Saw-Mill is in motion.

You must know, that I am disposing of my lower privilege at the Cream-pot, & that a Mill will be erected there this next fall or winter (not to saw shingles) but to place patent Machinery therein; & if our Mill at the fish-pond can be ready to receive a Machine by the 15 or 20th July, and have it in operation even

for one day — I can secure for you and me the use of one Machine for three years, which in my opinion will greatly add to the advantage of our Saw-Mill, and this one Machine alone will give, I calculate as much profit, as the Saw & Shingle Mill together. —

I have not time for any more, & remain
truly yours
S. V. S. Wilder

What this patent machinery was, it is impossible to determine. It must have been some sort of machine for sawing, turning, or woodworking, and it was evidently to be run by water power, as Mr. Wilder, in his letter, directs that the water wheel must be completed. Whether the machine mentioned was ever installed, and whether the other patent machinery was ever put into a mill at the “Cream-pot,” are mysteries that it is probably impossible to solve at this late date.

There were other mills in various parts of Bolton. The foundation of a sawmill may still be seen on the brook which runs in back of the Gustafson house. Tradition says that the lumber for this house was sawed out at the mill nearby.

A grist mill once stood on the land now owned by John Ibsen, almost in back of Royce Beckner’s house. On the brook which runs through the dooryard of the Hicks house, there may be seen what is left of three dams, scarcely two hundred yards apart. It could hardly have been possible to run these three mills at once, as there is not a sufficient flow of water in the brook.

Joel and Joab Barnard, who lived in the house called the “old Hackett place,” built a sawmill and turning lathe on the brook to the north of their house. They were also housewrights, and built a large number of houses and barns in this and surrounding towns. Captain Joel drew the

plans for the Town House which was completed in 1834. In addition to these activities, they made coffins in their mill. For the coffin of such a well-to-do citizen as Sanderson Houghton, the brothers Barnard charged the sum of four dollars. They had a contract with the town, however, for making coffins at the rate of two dollars and twenty-five cents each in 1842.

CIDER MILLS

One of the important industries of our forefathers was cider making. Every family put at least one barrel of cider in the cellar each autumn for vinegar and a quantity was consumed before it reached the vinegar stage. Boiled cider was one of the valued ingredients of the famous mince pies of our grandmothers. Boiled cider applesauce was considered a great delicacy. Cider was thought necessary at haying time and at huskings, raisings, and bees of all kinds.

The earliest mention of a cider mill in Bolton is found in a description of Long Hill Road about 1740. The road was laid out past Whitney's cider mill, which was on the south side of Long Hill, beyond the Barrett farm.

The Houghton brothers, Joseph and Sanderson, who lived on the Green, owned a cider mill. On the death of Joseph, in 1790, the administration of his estate awarded Joseph's half of the "Cyder Mill" to his three minor children, Joseph, Henry, and Mary.

Probably the best-known cider mill in Bolton is still standing. When the estate of Jonathan Forbush was sold at auction, the Hillside Church and land surrounding it went as one item of the sale. The church was remodeled and used for a cider mill, eventually passing into the hands of Michael Butler, whose son still owns the property. The

old church was burned in 1900, and a new building was erected, the same foundation being used.

HAT MAKING

One of the earliest industries in Bolton was that of hat making. Beaver hats, which were worn on all dress occasions, were made of real beaver fur. At the foot of Blood Hill, on the south side of the road just about opposite the Holman barn, stood the house of Captain Samuel Blood and a little to the east of it was his hat shop. A great deal of business was done here long before the Revolution. Loads of hats were sent to Boston, and many were made to order.

As beaver skins became less plentiful, a new material was invented, still called "beaver" but in reality a sort of plush, from whence came the term "silk hats." It is a tradition that the first silk hats in the colonies were made in Captain Blood's shop.

In the making of hats, the method employed required the soaking of the skins for several days. There was a walled-up pool in the brook south of the hat shop where this soaking was done. For many years the location of this pool was not known; only recently in an exceptionally dry season it was discovered, the wall having sunk deep into the soft earth.

Several types of hats were made by Captain Samuel Blood and his son, Edmund, according to records found in an old account book which he kept for the years 1799 to 1803. "Knapt hatts" were priced at about £1, though some customers paid as much as £1-6. "Castor hatts" vary in price from £1-4 to £2-2. Felt hats were the cheapest; the prices range from five shillings for a boy's felt hat to nine shillings or twelve shillings for a man's felt.

Some of the accounts are very interesting. In May, 1800, Peter Clark paid £1-7 for a "military hat." Under the same date Thaddeus Pollard paid £1-7 for a military hat "del. Ensign Amory," and bought a "Beverett hatt" at £2-2, a "Knapt hatt" at £1, a "boys hatt" at 5 shillings 3 pence, and "two ladies hatts" for £2. In Nov., 1801, Doctor Abraham Moore bought a "light colored beaver Hatt" for £2-8 and had a "hatt dressed for Abraham your son, with buckel" for which he was charged £3-6.

Many of the accounts are for dozen and half dozen lots of hats sold at wholesale prices to out-of-town customers, doubtless storekeepers. The sale of hats to Cranston and Felton of Boston from July to October, 1800, amounted to £73-9-2.

A hundred years ago, and until about 1870, the making of straw hats was a flourishing industry in Bolton. Hat blocks were of plaster-of-paris and the hats, after being sewed by hand, were dampened and shaped on the blocks. The Caswell family sewed hats in their shop on the Pan (where Fred Wetherbee's house now stands); Mrs. Ruth Houghton (widow of Jaazaniah) sewed straw for hats; Mrs. Legrand Brigham, now of Hudson, who lived in the house at the corner of the Hudson Road and the Great Road, can remember as a girl sewing hats, sometimes in her own home and sometimes at Mr. Caswell's shop, across the street.

TANNERIES

There was probably a tan-house or tanyard in this territory before it became a town. The many articles, including shoes, which were manufactured of various kinds of leather, made a tanyard almost a necessity. A pit was constructed in which the prepared hides were laid in alternate layers with

powdered bark, usually oak bark, and the whole filled with water. After some months the tan-pit was emptied, and the process repeated. The hides became slowly impregnated with the astringent properties of the oak-bark. The whole process took a long time to complete, and leather suitable for sole-leather required from six to twelve months; thicker leathers, called "butts" or "backs," required up to eighteen months. The thinner kinds of leather required less time, some kinds being tanned in a different manner, by the use of sumac or alum.

The first tanyard in Bolton of which we have a record was built in 1750 by Samuel Baker, on the place now owned by John Hopkins and called "West Pond Farm." Samuel Baker, called in town records "Captain Baker," also built a sawmill on the brook north of the house he erected. His neighbor to the east was John Peirce, also a tanner, who bought the Baker place from Samuel Moore, to whom Captain Baker sold it in 1765. Captain Baker removed to Berlin territory in 1765, buying the stone house in West Berlin, long called the "Judge Baker place."

John Peirce operated the tannery for about seven years, selling to John and Nathaniel Potter who were called "housewrights." They probably operated the tanyard, however, or hired a tanner, as the tanyard is mentioned in the deed they gave Benjamin Sawyer, nearly twenty years later. The Sawyers were not tanners and built a grist mill, probably on or near the site of the old tannery.

There was also a tannery in the south part of the town, on the Old Marlborough Road. The location of this tanyard was on the east branch of Wataquadock Brook, a few rods southwest of the Garrison house. Josiah Babcock, called in the deed a tanner, bought twelve and one fourth

acres of land in 1802, and “ $\frac{1}{2}$ of the house standing thereon” from Levi and Betsy Moore. There is in the deed no mention of a tanyard. However, in 1806, he bought from Ebenezer Bridge of Harvard, a currier, a partly finished currying shop “with the privilege of removing the same or improving it where it now stands.” Josiah evidently preferred to “improve” it on his own land, and doubtless moved it to the place where he used it as a tan-house for many years.

Some of the very oldest inhabitants can recall a tannery in the center of Bolton, located on land now owned by Mr. Edes, and facing the Harvard Road. It was close to the brook which runs under the road, north of W. L. Sprague’s house, and belonged to the Sprague property. This tanyard was owned by Martin Wood as early as 1806, and how long before that is not known.

BRICKYARDS

In Whitney’s *History of Worcester County*, published in 1793, it is stated that at the time there were two famous brickyards in Bolton which made 200,000 bricks annually. One of these was on the bank of the intervale nearly back of the house where George Day now lives. The second was not far away, on the east side of the road (now Route 110) about fifty yards up a brook which flows into Still River. A large depression in the earth shows where a great quantity of clay was removed. The Haynes family later erected a comb shop on the site of this brickyard.

Many, if not all, of the brick houses in the town were made of Bolton bricks. These bricks are not of the same size as modern bricks but a trifle smaller, making any alterations or repairs on houses built of them somewhat difficult. It is

supposed that the houses of Mrs. Emerson, T. T. Pond, Richard Nourse, Charles Day, George Kimball and one Haynes house were constructed of Bolton bricks.

THE FULLING MILL

From the earliest days of our country, cloth-making or weaving was one of the most important occupations of the housewife and other women of the family. Women were extremely proud of their skill, and weaving patterns and secrets of dyeing were passed from mother to daughter like valuable heirlooms. Spinning wheels, flax wheels, clock reels, cards, and looms, were as much the standard equipment of every home as fireplaces or chairs and tables.

The proper finishing of cloth was, however, always a problem. In homespun cloth each thread of warp and woof is easily separated from those beside it, thus greatly affecting the wearing qualities. The invention of the process of fulling and the building of a fulling mill was probably hailed by the housewives of Bolton as a real "modern improvement." This mill was on the Great Brook, probably on or near the Harvard Road not far from Brockway's corner. Its action depended on water power, and a great deal of water was also used in the process.

The home-woven cloth was taken to the mill, scoured with soap and water, rinsed, dried, and stretched. Then it was folded into bundles, a thick solution of either soap or Fuller's earth being spread between the layers. These bundles were next subjected to the action of heavy mallets or stocks for three hours at a time, fine cloth being fullled four separate times. The pounding or beating process caused the woolen fibres to hook into each other and become united until the cloth became "felty," and not ravelly when cut, like other

woven goods. During this process the cloth became much thickened and only about one half as long or wide as in the beginning.

COOPER SHOPS

In an early history of Worcester County is found the statement that the manufacture of barrels, hogsheads, hoops, and staves was at that time one of Bolton's most important industries. Every family in Colonial days "put in" several barrels of cider for the winter. Many barrels and hogsheads were used in the numerous distilleries. Wooden tubs, butter tubs or firkins, kegs, buckets, and other articles were made in the cooper's shop.

Ichabod Smith, who lived in the Goding house on the Pan, had a cooper shop. He sold the place in 1767, to a blacksmith who probably remodeled the shop to suit his trade.

Thomas Houghton was also a cooper. When he sold the Kimmens place in 1849, he reserved the blacksmith shop and the cooper shop, which were "to be taken off by the grantor." Thomas Houghton evidently built this shop, as there is no mention of it before his ownership of the property.

John Kimmens, who lived in a plaster house on the point of land formed by the Old Marlborough Road and the road which passes the old burying ground, had a cooper shop. Upon his death in 1821, his wife, Judith (Houghton), was left the use of this shop during her lifetime.

Joseph Houghton, who lived on the Green in the house now owned by Robert Forbes, rented his farm in 1807 to Isaiah Whitney of Harvard. He reserved a part of the house for his own use "and the garret to lay casks in if needed, also the cooper shop with a privilege to lay cooper

stuff near said shop and a privilege to pass and repass through the house to said shop." Joseph evidently operated the cooper shop himself and, as he was then unmarried, made a contract with Whitney for board, washing, and mending for a year.

THE COMB INDUSTRY

In the first half of the nineteenth century, comb-making was probably Bolton's most important industry. Horn was the material used, the work being done by hand with saws of various sizes. In 1837, there were five comb shops here, and the value of the product for that year was \$21,500.

One of these shops was that owned by Francis Haynes and his brother Silas, built on the site of the old brickyard. The story is told that the Hayneses, being enterprising people, had an idea of using water power in their comb shop for greater production. Still River ran through their land, so an engineer was engaged to lay out a suitable site for a dam. He looked around and pointed out the place to erect the dam. "Now," said the engineer, "toss up a coin. That will decide for you on which side of the dam to put your mill; there is about as much flow in one direction as in the other!"

Another comb shop, owned by Asa Holman, was located on Wataquaddock Hill Road nearly opposite the Cunningham house, now owned by Malcolm Ware. There was also the Gibson comb shop.

Besides the places classed as shops there were dozens of small family comb shops all over Bolton, some not even separate buildings, but merely one room of the house used to work in. Sanford Houghton did a large comb business on the Green. Jonas Houghton, who lived nearly at the

Still River line, also made combs. Elcanah Caswell, on the Pan, had a small comb shop connected with his house. Horace Faulkner, in Fryville near the Quaker Church, and William W. Whitney, on Moore Road, were comb makers.

Others who made combs as a side line, probably as a winter occupation, include the following: Jaazaniah Houghton, Nathan Hosmer, Calvin Wheeler, Orson Bailey, Dexter Bailey, Franklin Brigham, Wilder Bush, Caleb Wheeler, Anthony Wetherbee, Leonard Hartwell, and Henry Sawyer.

In the early nineteenth century, ladies wore in their hair huge ornamental combs made of shell. Levi Barnard established a factory near the Hackett house for the manufacture of these combs and did a thriving business. It is said that at one time so many workers were employed there that a boarding house was run for their accommodation.

BLACKSMITHS AND WHEELWRIGHTS

The blacksmith was an important man in the community. Not only did he shoe horses and oxen, but all the hardware which went into the building of a house was the product of his skill. The making of hinges, latches, hooks, fireplace fittings, implements of all kinds for the home and farm, besides nails, which were all hand made, kept the forge glowing winter and summer. Many blacksmiths not only earned good livings, but became well to do.

The first blacksmith in Bolton may have been Joseph Sawyer, uncle of General John Whitcomb, in whose home John lived as a child. He lived in the "east part," while Bolton was still a part of Lancaster.

Abraham Moor, who lived south of the meetinghouse, was a blacksmith in the early days of the town. Thomas

Atherton, son of Eliakim Atherton, had a blacksmith shop on the Pan in Revolutionary days.

One of the early blacksmiths was Elnathan Polley. In 1789, Jacob and Olive Houghton sold to him, for one pound seven shillings, a small tract of land on the Great Road near Four Mile Brook, which "is the plot where the said Elnathan has built a blacksmith shop." This shop probably stood where Mrs. Henry Whitcomb's iris garden now grows. The shop had several owners, and was later taken down and rebuilt on the other side of the road, directly opposite the Kimmens house. Here Captain Oliver Sawyer, in the early 1800's, "swung his heavy sledge, with measured beat and slow." Captain Oliver's brother, Daniel Sawyer, who lived in the house now owned by Frank Paine, was a wheelwright. He probably worked with Captain Oliver in the latter's shop. To Daniel Sawyer goes the credit for making the first one-horse wagon ever seen in this town. It had no springs, the body being bolted down on a wooden axle. The spokes were all pinned into a huge hub large enough for a two-horse wagon, which caused a great clatter after it had been used for a while. Such a wagon sold for \$40. and Mr. Sawyer was kept busy supplying the demand.

A blacksmith shop stood near the Holman Inn, probably being used for shoeing the stagecoach horses and for repairing the coaches. It was later operated as a separate enterprise until about 1876, when it was torn down. Another shop stood only a stone's throw away, on the left side of the lane that leads to the Emerson School, and about fifty feet in from the main road. This was owned by Joel Sawyer, the owner of the mill nearby. For a number of years the smith was Tilson W. Barker, who lived in the house where Cora A. Jacobs now resides. Mr. Barker sold his interest

in the shop and also the house, removing to the east part, where he bought the house now owned by Mr. Gustafson. He built a blacksmith shop there, and operated it for a number of years.

For fifty years, Amos Powers was well known as a blacksmith. He had a shop on or near the site of the house owned by Arthur Miner. About 1880, he bought the old shoeshop opposite the Town House, using the lower floor for a blacksmith shop. After he sold the building to William Robinson, he hired the shop by the mill pond. When Pond Park was made, part of the shop building was used to erect a blacksmith shop on Mr. Powers' land, now owned by Frank A. Powers. Amos Powers followed his trade for over fifty years, until a very few years before his death in 1932.

George Taylor, on the Pan, owned and operated the last blacksmith shop in Bolton. This shop still stands on the corner of Burnham Road, although it has not been used for several years.

POTASH SHOPS

Colonel Caleb Wilder, who lived on the Old Common in Lancaster, discovered a method for making potash in large kettles. Soon many in nearby towns had adopted his method. The earliest potash shop on record in Bolton stood on the site of the present post office.

In 1793, Bolton had one pearlash and two potash works. One potash shop stood on the Berlin Road south of the Brick Store. It was moved diagonally across the street, and the First Baptist Church erected on the site. The church building was sold to the town in 1864 or 1865, and used for many years as the "Center School." It is now used as the fire house.

Another potash shop was in the extreme eastern part of Bolton, on the so-called Moore Road, the exact location not determined, but probably near one of the two houses at the end of the road.

LIME QUARRIES

The date of the discovery of limestone in Bolton is not known. Henry S. Nourse, foremost historian of this vicinity, places it at about 1736, and although the Whitcomb family who owned nearly the whole of eastern Bolton may have known of the existence of lime on their property previous to 1736, it was not quarried extensively until General John Whitcomb came into possession of his father's property in 1733.

General John opened or developed the quarry, built the kiln, and operated an extensive business. The Bolton quarry was the second to be discovered in all New England, the first being at Newbury in 1697. With new towns coming into being in all the vicinity around Bolton, the demand for lime must have been enormous. The quality of the Bolton lime was first class. It can be detected in the plaster of many old houses today, being harder and smoother than modern plaster, in fact almost rock-like in texture.

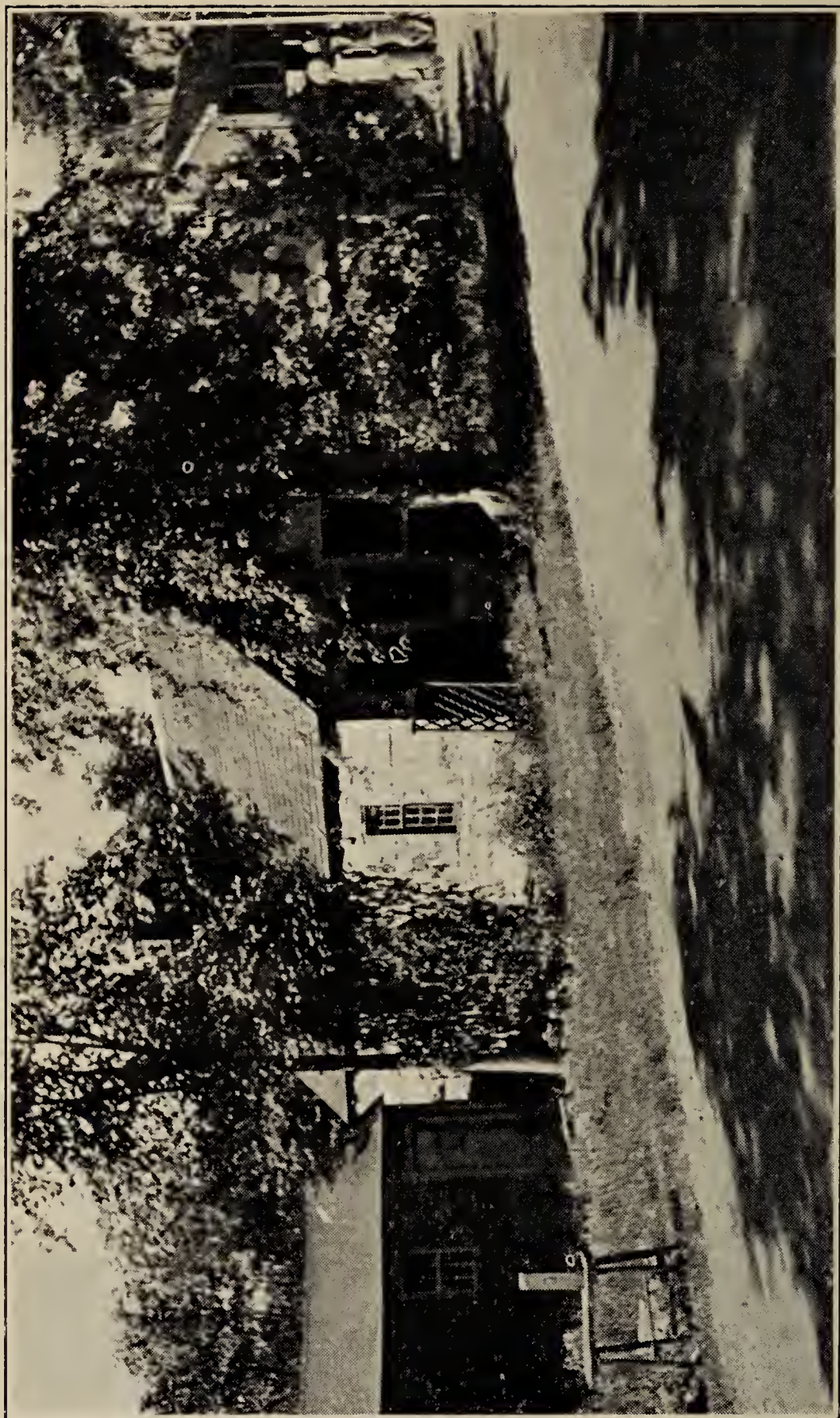
The lime business was carried on for many years by the Whitcombs and their descendants, but was finally sold. It had been in the possession of the new owner but a few years when a spring was struck at the bottom of the quarry. The water came in with such force and swiftness that the workers were obliged to flee for their lives, leaving their tools behind them, and the ox which operated the windlass was drowned. The business was abandoned after this stroke of misfortune, and due to newer and cheaper methods



THE LIME KILN



SAWYER'S MILL, ON THE PAN



THE BLACKSMITH SHOP

of quarrying and burning pursued by other companies, it was not reopened.

Many years passed, in which the old quarry was all but forgotten. The twentieth century found students from various colleges and universities making yearly pilgrimages to Bolton for the purpose of studying the numerous minerals found in the quarry. In 1937, however, the lime business in Bolton took a new lease of life. Raymond Mentzer, the owner of the quarry, leased it to a Somerville company, headed by Mr. Frederick Hazen, for the manufacture of agricultural lime. The quality of the lime produced is excellent, as it contains a high percentage of magnesium, which is uncommon in most available lime.

SHOEMAKING

Every village in the early days had its shoemaker, or "cordwainer," as he was usually called. Many are listed in the very earliest records of the town. Probably the most noted of all Bolton shoemakers was one whose fame was not only local, but extended even to foreign lands. Joseph Holder, whose little shop stood close to his house on the Old Marlborough Road (where Charles H. Jones now lives) was the Quaker cordwainer whose honest workmanship brought customers to his humble door from all the surrounding towns. His work was of surpassing excellence, and soon the wealthier ladies of Bolton, Lancaster, and other towns would wear no shoes but those of his make.

When Captain Cleveland of Lancaster went to Havana as vice-consul, Mrs. Cleveland left the measure of her foot with Friend Holder, and every year packages of shoes went from Bolton to her and to certain Cuban friends of hers.

S. V. S. Wilder resided for several years in Paris, and while there Mrs. Wilder periodically sent orders to the Quaker expert; and not for herself alone, but for several Parisian friends who admired the style and workmanship of the shoes made by the rustic shoemaker thousands of miles away.

David Holder lived next door to his brother Joseph, and worked with him in the latter's shop. In later years a shoeshop was operated in the house of David Holder.

There were, of course, many other shoemakers in Bolton. Elcanah Caswell, on the Pan, also made shoes, besides combs and straw hats. Rufus Sparhawk, who married Mr. Caswell's daughter, Mary Abba, was a shoemaker. He and his brother Oscar were in business together. David Babcock, who was a shoemaker and cobbler, lived in a house which stood on the site of the one now owned by William Laws. He later bought the house and shoeshop of Calvin Gates, which is now owned by William Prachnick. Blaney Palmer and John Brown were shoemakers. John Temple, cordwainer, made shoes in the house now owned by Mrs. Burns. Luther Houghton was a shoemaker in the same house many years later.

The value of the boots and shoes made in Bolton in 1837 is given as \$6000. In Hayward's *Gazeteer of New England*, published in 1856, the value of boots and shoes manufactured here is given as \$48,236.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, shoemaking had become a very important industry in Bolton. It had reached such proportions that a few of the more venturesome souls of the community decided to go into the shoe business on a larger scale. On April 22, 1853, a joint stock company was formed which assumed the corporate name of "The Bolton Shoe Company." The capital stock of this

company was \$7000, which was represented by seventy shares at a par value of one hundred dollars each. These shares were held by twenty-two persons, all but seven of them Bolton residents.

The business of the Bolton Shoe Company was carried on in the building opposite the Town House, which now belongs to James Walsh of Hudson, who remodeled it in 1936 for a two-family dwelling. This building had been the property of Caleb Nourse who had operated a shoeshop there for about twenty-five years previous to the incorporation of the Bolton Shoe Company. The deed from Caleb Nourse states that this was the same property left him by his honored father on June 25, 1829. It would therefore seem that Caleb Nourse's father, Barnard Nourse, probably had a shoeshop there in the very beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Bolton Shoe Company as such did not last long. In the latter part of 1856, and the early part of 1857, the Company deeded the property in three parts to Joseph Whitney and Lyman Moore, Sherman W. Houghton, and Francis Brigham respectively. The shop was operated until the 1870's, when newer methods came into existence and it was closed.

Besides being the largest individual stockholder in the Bolton Shoe Company, General Amory Holman owned a small shop of his own. This is described in the auction bill for the sale of his estate, dated 1858, as sixty feet long and eighteen feet wide. It probably stood in back of the houses now owned by Mr. Townsend and Mr. Felton, and it is said that it was later used as a paint shop, then moved across the street and made into a house or houses.

No manufacturing is done in Bolton today.

SILK MANUFACTURE

About the year 1832, a strange new industry appeared in Bolton, which consisted of about one-third agriculture, one-third husbandry, and one-third manufacturing. This industry (or art, as it was usually called), was the manufacture of silk. It now seems preposterous that people thought they could raise silkworms and carry on the manufacture of silk in New England. However, the idea was not scoffed at, but eagerly accepted. In fact it became almost a craze, so much so that dozens of people put a great deal of money into the preparation for silk raising, often money they could ill afford to lose.

The fad must have swept the Commonwealth, as in 1831, the Governor, by authority of the Legislature, published a book on the culture of mulberry trees and the raising of silkworms. The first step was the culture of mulberry trees, on the leaves of which the silkworms were to be fed. Great orchards of mulberry trees were set out by well-to-do farmers, and smaller orchards by nearly every family in town. In a letter to his Bolton agent in 1833, S. V. S. Wilder refers to the Chinese mulberry trees he has just sent, which he wishes kept separate from the Holman mulberry trees. General Amory Holman sold thousands of the trees, and when the venture turned out to be a failure he was severely criticized.

There was nothing erroneous in the idea that mulberry trees would grow and flourish in New England. In fact, to this day in widely separated sections of the town may be found here and there an ancient mulberry tree, gnarled and stunted, but still alive.

The second step was the rearing of the silkworms. This

is described in the Governor's book as very simple, but about forty pages are devoted to it, and to an inexperienced reader the process would seem quite the reverse of simple. The worms were to be fed on mulberry leaves, which had to be constantly before them from the day they hatched until they were ready to spin their cocoons. Even the author of the book admits that in the last stage "the worms consume an incredible quantity of leaves, eating with great voracity and at this time the labor of tending them is most fatiguing."

When the silkworms went into their cocoons, the third step began, which was the winding of the silk. This process was not all hand work, as a reel was suggested as being "handy." However, it was so complicated that only skilled labor could be employed.

The book estimated that three thousand mulberry trees would produce ninety thousand pounds of leaves, on which could be fed enough worms to produce thirty-seven hundred pounds of cocoons, which in turn "if good and well reeled" would produce 420 pounds of raw silk, which, at the market price prevalent in 1831, would have been worth from \$1260 to \$2520.

This vision of wealth caused great interest in the venture, but the bubble soon burst, when the silkworms sickened and died. They were subject to disease just at the time of going into the cocoons, so that all the work of rearing them was lost. Some silk was made, mostly in thread form, the fringe on the curtains in Daniel Webster's house in Boston being made from native silk. However, interest in such an unreliable business soon waned, and only the mulberry orchards stood as reminders of an unprofitable venture. Several Bolton families were interested in the silk enterprise.

MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

Many industries, besides those mentioned, were carried on in Bolton. Some of these were only part-time work, probably done in the winter when such occupation did not interfere with the farm work.

Jonathan Fry, who lived in the house now owned by Albert Syze, made cards for carding wool. He sent the cards to Boston in large quantities. In the year 1836, 1050 pairs were sent at one time and later in the year another load of 1700 pairs were sent. Joshua Walcott also made cards, but in smaller quantities.

Many farmers in the early days made cheeses. Among those who made a business of selling cheese were Martin Houghton and Oliver Barrett.

Joshua Sawyer made bellows and although it would seem that the demand for such an article would be decidedly limited, it must be remembered that one hundred or more years ago at least one pair was a necessity in every household. At one time Mr. Sawyer was credited with four dozen pairs on his account at Woodbury and Holman's store.

In the days when horses and oxen were on every farm, whips were an item of trade. Amos French made whip stocks and Curtis Pollard made whip lashes. Luke Whitcomb, who lived on the Hudson Road in the house now owned by Joseph Rodreguez, made oxbows. Samuel Gutterson was a harness maker and carried on his trade in the house on the corner of the Berlin Road now owned by Mrs. George B. Newton. Thaddeus Pollard was a saddler.

Haven Newton, whose house stood where the Baptist Church now stands, was a tailor. His shop was a little east of his house, about on the site of Mrs. Grace Powers's

cottage. He was the only tailor in town for a great many years and did a thriving business in a day when there was no such thing as "ready-made clothes." He kept a horse and wagon or "slay" which he let by the mile, usually charging nine cents a mile, six cents for the horse alone, three cents for the wagon.

Occasionally his account books show the sale of a barrel of cider, ten pounds of veal, a bushel of beets, a cord of wood, or other products of a farm. For a number of years, the town contracted with him to "take care of the meeting-house, toll the bell, dig graves, attend funerals and drive the hearse."

With all these activities, he still found time to teach an apprentice his trade. Among papers in the possession of his great-granddaughter, is a contract which illustrates the way in which apprentices were bound out to learn their trades. It reads as follows :

Memorandum of an agreement between Haven Newton of Bolton, Taylor, and Josiah Flagg of Lancaster Esq: That in consideration of Five dollars paid in hand by said Flagg to said Newton, said Newton doth covenant with said Flagg, to learn his daughter Dolly Flagg, the art and mystery of the Taylor's trade, upon these conditions, that the said Dolly live with said Newton, one year from the underwritten date, and that the said Josiah pay the said Newton at the end of said term Twenty dollars, for boarding the said Dolly and learning her the said trade, but if the said Josiah should think it best, that his said daughter should stay with said Newton eighteen months, then and in that case, said Newton shall be entitled to nothing more than the Five dollars, in consideration of his learning said Dolly the trade and boarding her as aforesaid.

May 20, 1812

(Signed) Josiah Flagg
Haven Newton

Judging by present-day standards, Haven Newton might have truthfully advertised his prices as "most reasonable." We find among the items charged in 1824, the following: "To making great coat, three capes — \$3.00" "To cutting pantaloons — \$.13." "To cutting spencer — \$.20." "to making pantaloons — \$.83." "To making surtout — \$2.50." "Altering vest — \$.33." "Making coat, vest and pantaloons for Charles — \$4.67." These accounts, like most bills of those days, were seldom settled by cash. On the credit side of the book we find such items as "two pairs of shoes — \$2.50." "Mending harness — \$.16." "twenty-one and one half pounds cheese — \$1.15." "By shoeing horse — \$.95." "By a map of Bolton — \$.30." In more than one instance, at the bottom of a long account, is written, in Haven Newton's cramped hand, "Settled by death."

Jonas Bruce, a silversmith, in 1783, bought the Goding place (now owned by Mrs. Charles Burns). He paid one hundred pounds "lawful silver money" for it, but carried on his trade there for only about a year, when he sold it at a loss, for ninety pounds. Evidently there was not enough demand for silver articles in Bolton to induce a silversmith to make his permanent residence here.

Joel Sawyer learned the watchmaker's trade in Concord, returned to Bolton, and established a business here. One of his older brothers was a jeweler, and before he became a watchmaker, Joel worked with his brother, making "nubs and drops," as ladies' earrings were then called. Some of these beautifully chased "drops" made of Guinea gold are still in the possession of Joel Sawyer's relatives. It is supposed that the house now owned by Mrs. George B. Newton on the southeast corner of the Berlin Road was used as a jeweler's shop by the brothers Sawyer.

Furniture, in olden times, was laboriously made by hand. Every piece of furniture in some of the early homes was home-made. Luke Woodbury was a cabinet maker. Besides the usual chairs and tables, we find yardsticks credited to his account at the Brick Store at seventeen cents each.

Amos Evans, the son-in-law of Josiah Babcock, lived on the Berlin Road in the house now occupied by Mrs. Beach. He was a cabinet maker, making a specialty of chests or bureaus. One icy day he started out with a load of chests on a horsedrawn sled, intending to deliver them in Worcester. On the hill leading down into Berlin, his sled skidded and the whole load went down over the bank into a deep gully. Some of the pieces of furniture made by Amos Evans are in existence today. They show the finest attention to detail, with much inlaid work, and intricate turnings on legs and spindles.

A pump shop on the Great Brook in the "east part" was a busy place from Civil War times until about 1875. Pumps were made entirely of wood, the pipe being also wooden, with a hole bored through it. Philo Clapp was the pump-maker, and in his spare time he drove about the countryside with loads of pumps, selling to those who needed them. There are those living today who can remember the old horse and wagon driven by Philo Clapp, and the load of clumsy wooden pumps.

A button shop once stood in the south side of the Great Road, opposite the house now owned by W. L. Sprague. Buttons of horn and bone were manufactured there.

During the Civil War a compulsory enrollment of citizens was called for by the President. This included all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, and is particularly interesting because each man's occupation is given. We

find that in 1862, there were in Bolton, ninety farmers, sixty-nine shoemakers, twenty-three laborers, ten carpenters, three machinists, three blacksmiths, three students, three merchants, three painters, two surgeons, two traders, and one of each of the following: butcher, harness maker, comb maker, hostler, shoe manufacturer, cigar maker, teacher, bricklayer, basketmaker, carriage maker, bookkeeper, miller, clerk, postmaster, hoopskirt maker, and gentleman. Of these, four are listed as Quakers, three as having fingers gone, several as having "lung difficulty," two as having a "slender constitution," and one as having "bad humor."

Thus we find twenty-five distinct occupations among the citizens of Bolton seventy-five years ago, not counting laborers or gentlemen who are not supposed to have to serve any particular apprenticeship to become proficient.

XX

STORES

They were thy merchants: they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and honey, and oil, and balm.

EZEKIEL 27 : 17

IN any thriving community is to be found at least one general store similar to the one in the center of Bolton today. As we look back through the years, we find that in the early 1800's, there were several stores in Bolton. Some of these, doubtless, went back to the early days of the town, although no records are in existence to show this.

One of the first stores of which we have record was built by Caleb Moore about 1795. This building is now the property of Lowell T. Clapp, and some of the old books are in his possession. Caleb Moore made a specialty of settling estates. One of those he administered was that of his uncle, James Richardson, who lived in the Wilder Mansion. In his younger days, James, with his father, John Richardson, had been in the distilling business in Dorchester. Some of the books which the Richardsons used in their business were later used to list the property of the estate. Still later, Caleb Moore kept his store accounts in the same ledgers. Originally he appears to have sold more rum than anything else, but as time passed, he sold more and more of the general merchandise.

Although the wages received for labor were small, groceries and general merchandise were priced accordingly.

We find such items as the following: "8½ lbs. lamb — 47 cents, to 1 years rent of the house and garden \$6.66, 1 cord of Pine wood \$1.00, 15 lbs. cheese \$.84, to two thousand best shingles \$4.46."

Still another store was to be seen in 1800, that owned by James Fry and located across the street from the present home of Jesse Wheeler. A hat shop was also doing a thriving business before 1800. It was located southeast of what is now known as Blood Hill. All kinds of men's hats and trimmings were manufactured and sold, hats peculiarly typical of Colonial days: "Knaps, Felts, and Pleated." Evidently it was the only shop for miles, for the accounts listed such places as Boxborough, Harvard, Concord, Stow, Littleton, Berlin, Sterling, Marlborough, Boylston, Westborough, and Northborough. Even the men were "hat conscious" in those days. Hats were expensive, comparatively speaking. When a man's labor was worth only six shillings a day, he must have had to "scrimp and save," in order to pay "£1-5s for a Castor hat" or "nine shillings for a felt hat."

Another general store was operated in the house now owned by Miss Ora Sawyer. Squire Joseph Sawyer "kept store" there for many years, and was well known all over this section of the county. It is said that he was a very sharp trader, seldom allowing anyone to cheat him, or even to get the better of him in a deal. Squire Joe's account books, which are in the possession of Miss Sawyer, are marvels of penmanship and system. Joseph Sawyer was in partnership with his brother Nathan at one time, and in the early days of his career with John Haskell, he was a goldsmith.

It is supposed that the Brick Store in the center of Bolton



CALEB MOORE'S STORE

The front room of the house was used as the store.



THE BRICK STORE

The old mail coach is shown at the left.

was built about 1820, by Charles Woodbury and Abraham Holman. In those days, one could buy curtain goods, yard goods, quills, copperus, wine, rum, gun powder, silk umbrellas, flints, furniture, and many other articles not generally found today. One of the blinds carried the notation, "West India Goods." In fact every store sold various kinds of liquor, the preference among the customers apparently being divided between "N. E. Rum" and "Jamaica Rum."

The following owners or operators of the Brick Store are given in chronological order :

Woodbury and Holman	James Hurlbut (James Townsend
George F. Rice	was also in partnership)
Frank Woodbury and Robinson	Ernest Bassett
Whittemore and Matthews	Arthur L. Fay
Ezra Moore and Thomas Pollard	Perley Sawyer
George B. Newton (H. B. New-	Reuben Randall
ton was in partnership part of	Roy Williams
the time)	Reuben Randall

About 1875, William Robinson built a store just west of Smith's Garage, where a dwelling house now stands. He sold the store to H. E. Graves. Unfortunately, the building was destroyed by fire in the 1890's, and was never rebuilt. The dwelling house owned by John Smith was originally a one-story building, and was used for a short time as a general store, before it was remodeled. There have been a number of other stores in Bolton, but only one has lasted down the years, to the present day, the old Brick Store.

XXI

TELEPHONE AND ELECTRIC LIGHTS

Indeed, what is there that does not appear marvelous when it comes to our knowledge for the first time? How many things, too, are looked upon as quite impossible until they have been actually effected!

PLINY THE ELDER

IN 1905, the New England Telephone Company sent a representative to canvass the town and establish a "farmer's exchange." At the end of two weeks only three of the thirty required subscribers had been obtained.

As a private line was planned between the Unitarian parsonage and the Post Office, and another was in existence in the southern part of the town between Mr. Lewis Day and a few of his neighbors, Reverend J. N. Pardee suggested at a special town meeting that a local exchange be formed. The motion was passed and a committee appointed to look into the matter.

It was found that independent manufacturers were putting out instruments, assuring people that if they built and equipped their lines themselves, the cost of operation would be nominal. Many towns were taken in by this generous offer, one community having six of these independent companies. This was proof enough that the telephone service must be incorporated if it was to remain in existence.

Further investigation showed that if the town of Bolton leased telephones from the New England Telephone Company, for \$1.50 a year, they could build their own lines and

control their own business. Out of this decision grew the Bolton Cooperative Telephone Company, a full-fledged sub-license company.

For a time everything went along smoothly, and then one part of the town protested against connecting with a "bloated monopoly" while another part was in favor of it. Complaints were numerous on either side.

When there were one hundred stations in use and half of the company's investment was borrowed money, the question was raised as to whether the company should lease or buy their telephones. Leasing meant connection with long distance; buying meant merely local service. A vote was taken which resulted in a tie, but the problem was finally solved when the president of the company purchased the remaining four shares of stock. At the next meeting of the company, a second vote was taken, the decision being to *lease* the telephones. Consequently there was a great deal of hard feeling between the two groups and soon it became evident that a corporation was highly impractical.

Steps were taken at once toward reorganization, on the usual stock basis, and in 1906, the Bolton Telephone Company, which was connected with the Bell System, took control. The new stock was soon over-subscribed, 6 per cent dividends were paid, and the company rapidly built up a 100 per cent reserve fund. The Bolton Telephone Company of 1906 operated without difficulty for ten years, and was merged with the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company in 1916.

With the establishment of telephone service in Bolton, the townspeople became interested in having light and power. In 1913, the selectmen were instructed to see what could be done about it. They wrote to the Marl-

boro Electric Company, who replied that they would come into Bolton if eighteen street lights and a certain number of house lights could be installed.

Interest died out with this reply, but was renewed when Rev. J. N. Pardee went to Mr. Edward Emerson, president of the Bolton Improvement Society, and asked him to call a special meeting. The meeting was held and a committee of three (Mr. Edward Emerson, Mr. Arthur Felton, and Reverend J. N. Pardee) were appointed to further the investigation. Mr. Emerson again negotiated with officials of the Marlboro Electric Company and again they made the same proposition. A last attempt was made by a house-to-house canvass and at a special town meeting, it was decided to install ten street lights, an action which later on led to home lighting.

XXII

RAILROAD

Gone, glimmering through the dream of things that were.

LORD BYRON

BOLTON, now more or less resigned to private means of transportation, at one time was actively interested in the construction and operation of two railroads.

The Central Railroad, which ran from Northampton to Sudbury, held the interest of Bolton people for only a short time, however, all concern being transferred to the Lancaster Railroad, which was to extend from South Lancaster to Hudson, passing through the center of Bolton, an entire distance of eight and one-half miles.

Work was begun in earnest during the middle of February, 1872. Although progress appeared to be slow at times, most people were confident that the railroad would "go through." As time passed, however, conditions became serious. Workmen, already too few in number, were suspended due to the lack of money to pay wages and to the inability of the seven directors to agree on trivial matters. Two directors are said to have displayed "black eyes," as a result of forced agreement.

In spite of a growing unrest and rapidly increasing debt, work continued spasmodically, and hope was not yet crushed. One optimistic person assured others that "in due time you shall ride. . . . So get your greatcoats and winter flannels ready . . . and you shall have that ride,

just so sure as your name is what it is." Little did he realize that there would never be an official run made on the railroad then causing so much controversy.

There was a difference of opinion among the directors as to whether the trains should all start from Hudson or South Lancaster. After much wrangling, a compromise was finally reached, and trains were scheduled to leave from both ends of the line, one half from Hudson, the other half from South Lancaster.

Passengers were to have "twenty minutes for refreshments" at Bolton Center Station, which was planned to be almost on the site of the first schoolhouse and on land then owned by General Holman, now in possession of Mr. Stevenson. During the summer and fall, conductors were to be allowed "two minutes' extra stop at Holman's orchard." No trains were scheduled to run Sunday except in case of "mercy or emergency," and in the summer one train was to carry passengers to meeting at the Hillside Church.

The directors, evidently wishing to protect their patrons, made a ruling that "the sale of peanuts, popcorn, prize packages, Sunday *Heralds* and all unreliable papers" would be strictly prohibited on the train, "the newsboys being required to confine their trade to the Clinton *Courant* and Hudson *Pioneer*." This arrangement undoubtedly would have been most satisfactory to the two local papers.

Although the railroad was never officially operated, it was the defendant on June 22, 1872, in a law suit brought by Shebnah Rich of Hudson. Rich maintained that the railroad cut in two a dam on the "Holmes Manufacturing Estate" which he held in fee, reducing the water power to a damaging extent.

Only one passenger car ever was run over the rails which had been laid with so much difficulty. Several railroad officials took the ride to inspect and pass final opinions, and a small number of other persons were fortunate enough to be included. Mrs. Aurilla Miner, a small child at the time, rode in her grandfather's arms.

By the summer of 1875, the debt had increased to \$20,000, and the idea of ever putting the Lancaster Railroad to use was definitely abandoned. The road-bed was left to become more and more deeply buried in the rubbish of its old cuttings and excavations.

XXIII

ORGANIZATIONS

It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord.

ACTS 15 : 25

SONS OF LIBERTY

THE Sons of Liberty was organized about the year 1765. There were similar organizations in surrounding towns, all founded in an effort to resist the Stamp Act enacted by the British Parliament. Each one raised a liberty pole in its community, and Bolton's pole was placed on the hill, west of the First Parish Church. As there are no records, the duration of the existence of this society is not known.

FARMERS AND MECHANICS ASSOCIATION

It is unfortunate that the earliest records of the Farmers and Mechanics Association were destroyed by fire, because this is one of the few old organizations which has survived to the present day. It was in existence for 25 years or more before the first Cattle Show, which was held in 1874. In the beginning it was known as the Farmers' Club, but in 1873 it was reorganized as the Farmers and Mechanics Association. With very few exceptions, this club has held a fair every year since 1874. It was formed in the first place for the promotion of sociability and for the extension of a knowledge of agriculture, but of late its sole accomplishment has been the sponsoring of the annual fair. The officers at the time of the club's reorganization were as follows:



THE WILDER-WORTHEN HOUSE



It was a place
Chosen by the sovran Planter, when he framed
All things to Man's delightful use.

JOHN MILTON

Charles H. White, President ; S. W. Houghton, Vice President ; John S. Sawyer, Secretary ; John H. Sawyer, Treasurer ; Thomas A. Wheeler, Frederic Schmolz, Aaron R. Powers, Executive Committee. The present officers are : Arthur Whitcomb, President ; Leslie Babcock, Vice President ; Miriam Edes, Secretary ; Florence Wheeler, Treasurer.

BOLTON ASSOCIATION FOR THE RAISING OF FISH

The organization known as the "Bolton Association for the Raising of Fish" or, more informally, the Fish Association, was the outcome of the desire of the townspeople to have their ponds stocked with fish. At several town meetings previous to 1874, a committee had been appointed to carry out this project, but it had failed to fulfill its mission, and the ponds remained unstocked. Finally in 1874, a group of citizens, determined to remedy the town's fishless condition, formed this private association.

The following year, 1875, the club leased West Pond, a body covering twenty acres at its lowest, for a period of fifteen years, from the Commissioners of Inland Fisheries. Little Pond, covering nineteen acres, was leased from individuals for five years only. Both ponds were stocked with black bass and everyone, including members of the association, was forbidden to fish in either one for five years from the month of March, 1874. The fish put in Little Pond came from Lake Champlain.

The stock held by the Fish Association was transferable only to citizens of Bolton and the minimum price per share was fixed at \$5.

The life of this organization was comparatively short, for its records cease on August 3, 1880. However, it had only

one object in life and that was accomplished. It also added to the social life of the community for it held several free fish chowder parties to which all the townspeople were invited.

The executive committee of the Fish Association was as follows: James D. Hurlbut, President; R. S. Edes, Secretary; S. W. Houghton, Vice President; Reuben Newton, and E. C. Pierce.

BOLTON CENTENNIAL TEMPERANCE UNION

This club came into existence on May 25, 1876. Its first officers were: President, W. W. Robinson; Vice Presidents, S. F. Edwards, Amos Powers, and Peter Coyne; Secretary, L. L. Brigham; Treasurer, Joel Proctor; Chaplain, Reverend B. A. Edwards.

The group held meetings once a week and their programs consisted of readings, prayers, and speeches by the members themselves or an address by an out-of-town speaker. The records show that during the two-year existence of the club, delegates were sent to the Worcester District Temperance Union in Ashburnham, the Convention of Reform Clubs in Boston, and to temperance rallies in various surrounding towns. The last records of the club are dated April 23, 1878.

BOLTON GRANGE, No. 142

The first officers of Bolton Grange, No. 142, were installed by Elmer D. Howe on April 25, 1887. There were thirty-four charter members, and the officers were as follows: Master, Andrew L. Nourse; Overseer, S. A. Randall; Steward, George E. Dow; Assistant Steward, James G. Dow; Chaplain, Henry Babcock; Gate Keeper, Peter Barr;

Treasurer, Daniel Marsh; Secretary, Flora E. Powers; Lady Assistant Steward, Ida M. Wetherbee.

In 1897, the Grange hired Robinson's Hall and met there twice a month until 1912, when they began using the Town Hall as they do at present.

Granges from surrounding towns neighbor with Bolton from time to time and the local Grange has added much to the social activities of the town during its existence by holding public suppers, entertainments, and dancing classes. At their meetings, members have had debates and discussions on subjects relative to farming and husbandry. Often competitive entertainments are given and out-of-town Granges visit Bolton. The Grange is always among the first to contribute to worthy causes, either local or national.

Since its beginning, it has had twenty-five Masters and its total membership at present is about seventy. The officers for 1938 are: Master, Francis G. Mentzer; Overseer, D. Craig Wilson; Lecturer, Phyllis Whitcomb; Steward, Charles D. Quimby; Assistant Steward, Marjorie Pardee; Chaplain, Bernice Marr; Treasurer, Leslie L. Babcock; Secretary, Vena A. Quimby; Gate Keeper, Annie J. Campbell; Ceres, Elizabeth Whitcomb; Pomona, Ruth M. Tardiff; Flora, G. Elizabeth Mentzer; Lady Assistant Steward, Dorothy A. Corliss; Pianist, Mary P. Howe; Executive Committee, Arthur J. Whitcomb, one year; Mabel L. Pardee, two years; and Grace Hines, three years.

REFORM CLUB AND CITIZENS TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

In 1884, the Bolton Reform Club was organized by the citizens of Bolton. Its first meeting was called to select delegates to the Mass Meeting or Temperance Convention

in Boston. After this, the townspeople voted that "an open temperance organization be formed in the town." This open organization was the Reform Club. Its officers were: President, Aaron R. Powers; Vice Presidents, Henry Haynes and S. A. Randall; Secretary and Treasurer, William H. Dow; Chaplain, Reverend Andrew Read. The last records are dated May 24, 1885.

Some years later, a series of meetings was begun which lasted several years, from 1894 to 1910. A general committee for these meetings included representatives from each of the three churches, Baptist, Unitarian, and Friends, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Independent Order of Good Templars, which was at that time inactive. These various societies took turns in leading the meetings, which were held the last Sunday evening of each month. Outside speakers were engaged very often and records were kept of each meeting after November 30, 1896.

The first general committee was: L. E. Scharf, Baptist; Mrs. Alfred Dow, from the Friends and the W.C.T.U.; W. J. Leonard, Unitarian; W. H. Dow, I.O.G.T.; and H. E. Babcock.

IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY

At the time the Public Library was built, there was much discussion about its location. Some wished it to be near the Mill Pond where the old mill and other shops used to be, where it would face both ways — up and down the street. When the discussion, pro and con, became a bit exciting, Mr. J. Wyman Jones gave the present site.

However, the little pond was not forgotten, for it had become a picturesque part of our scenic landscape. It was

suggested to Mr. Jones, Mr. E. D. Emerson, Dr. Clapp, and Fred Felton they they buy the land and give it to the town. They did this and became trustees of the park.

The Improvement Society, formed to beautify and maintain it, lasted for five or six years and held card parties and entertainments to raise funds for the improvements. A good sum was raised in this way, and Pond Park was maintained.

As time passed, Dr. Clapp became the sole trustee, and he deeded the park to the town. This deed included the right to flood the meadow in back of the pond, and in late years this has been done, thus making an excellent skating rink.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

The first meeting of the union was held July 9, 1889. The local unit was an auxiliary to the State W.C.T.U., and its officers were: President, Mrs. Alice M. Dow; Vice Presidents, Miss Susie Wheeler, Mrs. Hattie Hurlbut, Mrs. Headle; Secretaries, Mrs. Alice Wheeler, Mrs. Lottie Everett; Treasurer, Mrs. Ella P. Dow. There were in the neighborhood of thirty members, exclusive of those on the honorary membership list. The aim of the organization was, as it states in its constitution, "to educate the public sentiment to the standard of total abstinence . . . and secure legal prohibition." At the time it was disbanded in 1924, the officers were: President, Mrs. Ellen Babcock; Secretary, Mrs. Carrie Townsend; Treasurer, Mrs. Martha Rollins; Mrs. Alice M. Dow, Mrs. Charles Hamilton, Mrs. William Brigham, Vice Presidents. The vice presidents were chosen to represent the three church denominations in town. The first president, Mrs. Alice M. Dow, served in that position for more than twenty years.

4-H CLUB

In 1913, 4-H Club work was first started in the United States, and Bolton organized its first club in 1914. This club consisted of about six members. Their project was Home Economics, with bread-making as the chosen activity. Few club meetings were held, but at the close of the year, girls who won prizes in the local contest entered the state contest held at Worcester.

At present there are two sewing clubs, two cooking clubs, two handicraft clubs, and a poultry club in Bolton. In all these clubs combined, there is a total of forty-one members in active service.

Mrs. Herbert Wheeler became a club leader in 1916, and has continued in the work for twenty-two years, the longest continuous service for any local leader in the state of Massachusetts.

Mrs. Perley Sawyer has been the leader of the sewing group for several years. Under her leadership, many prizes have been won by local girls, and for five successive years a Bolton girl has had the honor of being sent to the State contest at Amherst, because of the excellence of her work.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS

In March, 1916, the Camp Fire Girls were organized with sixteen members, led by their Guardian, Naomi A. Cunningham. Each girl chose an Indian name which exemplified her character or ambitions for the future. Honors were given for various types of effort, such as housework, caring for children, garden work, woodcraft, nature study, and athletics. Besides their project work, the Camp Fire Girls did many things which could be classed as community

service. They made memorial wreaths, dressed dolls and made scrapbooks for children's hospitals, subscribed to magazines for the Library, and made berry bowls for the Clinton Hospital and the Old Ladies Home. They earned sums of money for various good causes.

BOY SCOUTS

In August, 1920, the Bolton Boy Scouts were granted their first Charter, although they were organized in 1919. There is but one troop. It was admitted to the Wachusett Council in 1925. In its early years its most notable accomplishment was the creation of a capital fund by sales at Bolton Fairs and by entertainments.

Under Executive Officer Edwin Boutilier and the Scoutmaster Edward Ware, the boys participate in rallies with neighboring towns occasionally during the year, and once a year they take part in the rally held by the Wachusett Council. There they have won high ranks although many of the members are small boys.

The first Scoutmaster, Edward C. Ware, held that position for six years and was succeeded by Percival M. Franklin, who led the scouts until his death. Following these two came Mr. Baron, and Mr. Leo Morgan. At the present time the boys are led by John C. Powers, with William Ware as assistant Scoutmaster, both efficient scouters trained through all the grades of scouting in the Bolton troop.

The Town Committee is as follows: J. N. Pardee, Chairman, Frank A. Powers, Edward C. Ware, Francis Mentzer, and Leslie Babcock. This committee represents the townspeople who support the Scout movement and forms a contact between the troop and the citizens of Bolton.

BOLTON GIRL SCOUTS

During the summer and fall of 1920, much interest was shown regarding the Girl Scout movement. The great problem was to find a leader. Finally, Helen Wetherbee consented to get the girls together and talk over the plans. After much planning a troop of twelve girls was organized, with Captain Mary E. Sprague and Lieutenant Hazel S. Pardee. In 1921, a charter was obtained.

The girls were a very enthusiastic and desirable group and much work was accomplished. Funds were earned by giving entertainments and selling home-cooked food. Some of the money was used for camping two weeks during the summer.

For many years the Scouts assisted in making wreaths for Memorial Day Exercises. They were also active in distributing delicacies to the sick and shut-ins during the Christmas season.

In 1930, Bolton formed a Community Committee and in 1933 became a Lone Troop Committee. The Troop disbanded in April, 1935.

D. O. N. EDES POST 258, AMERICAN LEGION

The Bolton Post of the American Legion is named in memory of David Oliver Nourse Edes, who gave his life in the World War. Its official name is D. O. N. Edes Post 258, American Legion. It was organized in 1920, and at that time there were sixteen members. Clarence Kimball was the first Commander. The post has its quarters in the old Legion Hall on the hill behind the Town House. It has helped to support the dental clinics held for the benefit of local school children in recent years and has given medals

for the inter-town speaking contest in this vicinity, thus doing its part toward the welfare of the community. At the present time there are fourteen members; Hugh J. Marden is Commander, and Leslie Babcock is Vice Commander.

LEGION AUXILIARY

The original D. O. N. Edes American Legion Auxiliary Unit 258, which was formed in 1921, had thirteen charter members, and the following officers: President, Mrs. Marjorie Babcock; Secretary, Miss Gladys Sargeant; Treasurer, Mrs. Florence Sawyer. In May, 1934, the Auxiliary was reorganized and new interest was kindled. This time, too, there were thirteen charter members, although they were not all among the original ones. Besides aiding and visiting the Veterans' Hospitals, this group has given money for school dental clinics and the Community Christmas Trees. The officers for 1938 are: President, Mrs. Mary P. Howe, Senior Vice President, Marjorie Babcock; Junior Vice President, Mrs. Mary Pardee; Secretary, Mrs. Charlotte Babcock; Treasurer, Mrs. Rina Bonazzoli; Chaplain, Mrs. Bertha Wheeler; Historian, Mrs. Margaret Campbell; Sergeant-at-arms, Mrs. Marion Pardee.

XXIV

TWO PROMINENT CITIZENS

Whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens.

DANIEL WEBSTER

GENERAL JOHN WHITCOMB

PROBABLY one of Bolton's most illustrious sons was John Whitcomb, who was offered command of the Continental forces in Massachusetts by General George Washington. The fact that historians in general ignored this courageous and self-sacrificing man led Henry S. Nourse to prepare and read a paper entitled "A Forgotten Patriot" before an annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, giving an outline of his eventful and useful life. From this and other sources much has now been learned of the career of this outstanding soldier and citizen of Bolton.

John Whitcomb, or Whetcomb as the family wrote the name until the nineteenth century, was born in that part of Lancaster which in 1738 became the town of Bolton. He was the eldest son of John and Rebecca Wilder Whetcomb, being of the fourth generation from John Whetcomb, one of the original proprietors of the township, who came to Dorchester from England about 1636. General John Whetcomb was born about 1712, and died on November 17, 1785. The epitaph on his stone in the South Cemetery not only ignores the military rank of this soldier of three wars, but it closes with "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Of his early life very little is known. His father and mother both died while he was a small boy, and he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Joseph Sawyer, a blacksmith in the east part of the township. When he had the usual children's ailments he was treated by a relative, Doctress Mary Whitcomb, the first medical practitioner resident in Lancaster, who had been carried to Canada by the Indians following the massacre of 1697, and who claimed to have brought from her two years' captivity a rare acquaintance with Nature's remedies. He went to school from six to eight weeks in the year, and learned to read, write, and cipher quite well, but at spelling he was very poor, and in later life this inability caused him much embarrassment. Every Sabbath he accompanied his elders to the meetinghouse, five or more miles distant, to hear the impressive and long exhortations of the Reverend John Prentice.

This was an age when life to the majority was a scramble for food and shelter, and while still young, John had to help at the forge and take his turn with the scouting-parties that were kept constantly scouring the woods to the north and west in search of hostile Indians. John became a fine shot with his musket, and it was not long before he was the natural leader among the boys of his age. This life with its restraints and privations, yet large liberty, greatly favored the expansion of his character, and promoted hardihood and self-reliance in the young man.

Upon coming of age, John Whitcomb received half of his father's estate; being the eldest son, he came into possession of the homestead in Bolton, then described as one hundred and thirty acres of land, with buildings. Limestone had been discovered upon this land, and the manu-

facture of lime became, in time, the source of a generous income to him; the product of his kiln exceeded both in quantity and in quality that of any other quarry in eastern Massachusetts. This quarry was worked for many years, until a spring was struck, causing the flooding of the quarry.

John Whitcomb married Mary Carter on June 12, 1735. She died in February, 1744, at the age of twenty-six, leaving three daughters. The following year he married Becke Whitcomb, a girl of eighteen, who, in due time, presented him with six more daughters and three sons. Eleven of the children lived to an advanced age, long surviving their father.

In 1748, John Whitcomb's name appears with title of lieutenant in the pay-roll of the Lancaster troop sent in pursuit of a party of savages fleeing for Canada with the trophies of a murderous raid. From that time on, his name appears very frequently in the early records. He had become the foremost citizen of Bolton. He was a selectman for more than twenty years, also serving as assessor for many years. Moderators at that time were chosen for each meeting instead of for terms of a year. Many special town meetings were held and we find the name of John Whitcomb as popular choice for Moderator. When in May, 1748, he was first elected a member of the General Court, because of diffidence he could not be persuaded to accept the honor, and Bolton was unrepresented; but thereafter, until called to a higher civil office in 1773, he was nearly always the town's representative, when any was chosen, holding that office for at least twenty years. In 1754, he was appointed justice of the peace. He had gained recognition in all the country around as an able man of affairs, a deacon in the church, and one whose word was an ample bond.



THE BOYHOOD HOME OF GENERAL JOHN WHITCOMB

When the French and Indian War broke out, John Whitcomb was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the regiment raised by Colonel Samuel Willard, Jr., for the first Crown Point expedition. He was with his command in the desperate fighting of September 8, 1755, at Lake George, and at the close of the campaign led the regiment home, having been promoted to the colonelcy, at the death of Willard October 27, 1755. In 1756, the Council appointed him one of a committee of three "to take care for the transportation of provisions and other stores for the use of the forces of the Province," in the second expedition against Crown Point. This committee had its headquarters at Albany.

In 1758, John Whitcomb went to the frontier, again as lieutenant-colonel, his brother Asa serving under him as captain. Asa's home was in that part of Lancaster which later became the town of Sterling. It was this regiment, led by its colonel Jonathan Bagley, that made the victorious charge upon the French advance guard near Ticonderoga, on July 5, in which Lord Howe, the inspiring genius of the army, was slain. From this time to the end of the French and Indian War in the spring of 1761, when he led his men home through the unbroken wilderness of Vermont to the Connecticut River and thence homeward through the New Hampshire woodlands to Bolton, Whitcomb was in many engagements. He and his men performed their duties with honor to themselves and their towns.

Ten years passed in which fighting was forgotten, and the Colonel gave his attention to his farm, his lime quarry, and his family, all prospering. His services as magistrate were in constant demand at this time. Then suddenly, in this quiet country town there arose a fierce conflict concerning church policy, known as the Goss and Walley war,

so named from the two clergymen forced to become rivals in the contest. As this incident is fully recorded in another part of this history, it is sufficient to say here that Colonel John Whitcomb was one of the prime movers against Reverend Mr. Goss and the autocratic claims of that part of the clergy he represented. It was at this time, 1773, that the town showed further the estimation in which it held Colonel Whitcomb by electing him to a seat in the Council. Once again, however, his diffidence caused him to beg to be allowed to remain in the lower branch of the legislature.

The spirit of the times led the Provincial Congress to reorganize the militia in the latter part of 1774, and in February, 1775, Colonel John Whitcomb was commissioned a general. He had already been chosen colonel by the line officers of the Lancaster regiment of Minute Men. He accepted the duties of both offices. Of the five Massachusetts generals appointed at this time, General Whitcomb had earliest won the rank of colonel in service, and could claim by far the most varied experience in military affairs.

Early on the morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, General Whitcomb was waked by the calls and knocking of the courier from Concord, announcing the long-expected raid by the British soldiers from Boston. He hurriedly dispatched orders to his field-officers, using various members of his family, including his daughters, as messengers. His home being several miles nearer Concord than the homes of his company commanders, General Whitcomb decided to start immediately for the field of battle. He was joined on the way by those members of his company who lived on the way to Concord. They arrived at the field of action at about the same time as the company from Acton and had a very active part in driving the British back to Boston. In

fact they continued on to Cambridge, where the next day General Whitcomb joined General Heath and General Ward in a council of war.

The third Provincial Congress on June 13, 1775, elected John Whitcomb "first major-general of the Massachusetts army." He accepted the appointment, and June 17, 1775, found him in command of one section of the battle line at Bunker's Hill. His particular location was the important strategic position, Lechmere Point.

On June 5, 1776, John Whitcomb was commissioned a brigadier-general in the Continental Army, and Washington immediately announced his intention of assigning him to the command of the forces in Massachusetts. But Whitcomb, submitting once again to his diffidence and considering his age, returned the commission and asked "to be excused on account of age, and a diffidence of not being able to answer the expectation of Congress." The next month he was again elected a member of the Council, in which body he served for the next four years, then retiring from public office to the quiet of his home.

General John Whitcomb was a republicanized Puritan, a zealous, unselfish patriot, a man of action, ignorant of rhetoric, not given to bluster. Uneducated, and not disposed to overrate his own powers, he rose to command by native force of character. He was brave in battle, and gifted with personal magnetism and tact; exemplary in life, for he was looked up to in the church, and his enemy spoke nothing ill of him; impartial in judgment, for his name stands oftenest in the records as moderator, arbitrator, and magistrate; energetic in administration, for those high in authority sought his aid; judicious in legislation and council, for electors did not tire of honoring him.

S. V. S. WILDER, ESQ.

One of the most picturesque figures of the early nineteenth century in this region, was Sampson Vryling Stoddard Wilder, equally famous as layman-evangelist and merchant. His earliest ancestor in this country was Thomas Wilder, who came from England in 1639, and was living in Lancaster by July 1, 1659. The family prospered, both spiritually, and materially, and in the fourth generation in the new world, Levi Wilder, the father of Sampson, on more than one occasion spent the whole day riding around with the sheriff and paying the dues of poor families. Through his mother, Sampson was related to the Stoddards and the Van Vrylings, the latter family having come here from Holland. It is interesting to note, in passing, that all these people were strongly orthodox in religion. In fact, Mrs. Margaret Van Vryling, the first representative of her family in this country, came here to take her two younger daughters away from the influence of two older daughters who had "embraced the then more fashionable and lax opinions of Erasmus."

In view of Sampson Wilder's subsequent experiences in business, it is also interesting to note the financial vicissitudes suffered by some of his immediate ancestors. His grandmother, having received word of her inheritance from the Vrylings in Holland of about \$195,000, had it invested in specie there and started on its way to America. The ship, however, was wrecked, and all aboard lost; and as the captain had deviated from the direct course, no insurance could be collected on it. Later, Mr. Wilder's grandfather, with patriotic confidence in the power of the government to redeem its issue of paper money, the now famous "Con-

tinentials," accepted them in payment for several mortgages he held. Many barrels of the almost worthless papers were collected. They were redeemed, indeed, but at the rate of one cent on the dollar, leaving the loyal gentleman much the poorer.

When Sampson was born in Lancaster on May 20, 1780, the family was evidently again fairly well to do. During his early years it was expected that he would enter the ministry, and as his grandmother was anxious to be the means of training a minister who would preach "nothing but the true doctrines of the Cross" she presented him with "six thousand acres of land and eight hundred dollars in cash" to carry him through college and theological school. Once more, however, the family fortunes dwindled away. Levi Wilder, trying to raise money to pay off a bad note he had endorsed for a friend, shipped two cargoes of potash to England. A storm at sea destroyed the vessels off the coast of Ireland before arrangements for insurance in London had been completed, and Mr. Wilder lost, with them, practically all the property he possessed. He was obliged to mortgage his home to pay off his debt. As a result, Sampson was taken out of school and put to work in a store in order to be better prepared to help his mother and sisters should the need arise.

Unfortunately, the need arose almost at once, for Levi Wilder died when his son was only thirteen years old. For the next three years Sampson worked in stores in Lancaster and Gardner. In 1797, he went to Boston to look for a more profitable position, and was offered two, by merchants with whom he had done business for the Gardner store. One firm offered him \$150 per year, and the other only \$50, but it was the latter which was accepted because Mrs. Wilder

felt that the religious views of the first company were not soundly orthodox. Sampson obeyed his mother in this matter much against his will, and found it was the first step in a long chain of happy coincidences.

His employers were Mr. and Mrs. Henley of Charlestown. During his years there he made many interesting contacts which aided him in later years. Among others, he became acquainted with Dr. Jedidiah Morse, who has been called the father of American geography, and who was the father of Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. Through this friendship with Dr. Morse, it came about that Wilder was the first healthy person in this country to be vaccinated against smallpox. It was Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge who performed the experiment. In later years, Wilder had cause to be thankful for the protection he enjoyed.

Soon after this, the young man completed his term of apprenticeship, but before he left the employ of Madam Henley, whose husband had meanwhile died, there occurred another incident which had happy results for him. One of his customers desired some Russian duck which was not in stock at the time. Mr. Wilder agreed to obtain it from a Boston merchant and deliver it to the gentleman at one o'clock that afternoon. He went to the city, ordered the material, and started it on its way in a wheelbarrow pushed by a young man engaged for the purpose. Some time later, on his way home, Wilder found the young man, overcome by the heat, sitting on the barrow. As time was getting short before the goods were to be delivered, Sampson took the barrow and continued on his way. Before he reached Charlestown, however, he met John Codman, a wealthy merchant and brother-in-law of Madam Henley. Having

heard the story of the affair, and appreciating the qualities of character exhibited, Mr. Codman offered to back Wilder to the amount of \$30,000, when he started in business for himself as he planned to do soon. Wilder never took advantage of the offer, but the incident worked to his advantage nevertheless. In the first year he conducted his own business, Mr. Codman assigned to him three cargoes of goods to be sold. The total commissions on these shipments amounted to \$10,000.

In November, 1802, the young man became the European agent of Mr. William Gray, a trader. His old friend, Dr. Morse, gave him a letter of introduction to Talleyrand, the great Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in later years this contact with French authority proved most helpful to him.

He finally arrived in Paris on the very day and hour that Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor. To help him acquire a knowledge of the French language, he engaged as tutor Latour Maubrey, who was later the Emperor's private secretary. At the end of eighteen months, the young agent and his partner had taken 1200 persons into their employ, cleared \$60,000 for Mr. Gray and about \$30,000 for themselves. Prosperity presented too many temptations for the partner to withstand, so Wilder returned to America, briefly, and dissolved the connection, with a loss of about \$30,000. He later stated, however, that he was able at the time to do this "without much injury to himself," so it seems that the Wilder fortunes were indeed prospering. Thus began the life as an independent trader, which took him across the Atlantic sixteen times in the next twenty years, when crossings required from forty to eighty days and were most hazardous under the best conditions.

In 1807, when the British were blockading French ports,

Wilder's first attempt to get passage was defeated by what turned out to be another of his "special Providences." Having obtained permission to board a ship sailing from Bordeaux, he started for that city by stagecoach in ample time to make the sailing, with, perhaps, two or three days to spare. The traveling was far worse than he had anticipated, however, and the journey took much longer than anyone expected. A short distance from Bordeaux an axletree on the coach broke, and by the time he finally reached his destination the ship had been gone an hour. It was a bitter disappointment to the tired man. Feeling very much abused by fate, he wearily returned the four hundred miles to Paris in the uncomfortable stagecoach, jolting through mud and ruts. He closes his account of the incident in this way, however: "Man proposes, and God disposes; and how inscrutable are his ways, and how willing should we be, at all times and under all circumstances, to acquiesce in His just decrees. The vessel in question was never heard from, nor the captain, officers, or any of the crew."

Soon after, however, he was able to obtain passage, and came to America again on business. It was probably on this trip that he was the bearer of important messages to President Madison and Secretary of War Monroe. Relays of horses were provided to take him to Washington as fast as possible. Wilder, by that time, was accustomed to the pomp surrounding the courts of European rulers. He called first on Monroe who took him at once to President Madison. "Never," said Mr. Wilder, "was I more surprised. An old man came to the door with a nightcap on, holding a common candle in his hand. It was the President of the United States."



THE WILDER MANSION

By this time he had practical control of the French market, and was able to obtain goods from fifteen to twenty per cent cheaper than any of his competitors. Therefore, he found, on his arrival here that his services were in some demand. He finally accepted a position as agent for Stephen Higginson, after trying unsuccessfully to get Mr. Gray to give him a slight increase in commission, and returned to Paris.

Wilder had many interests in France besides business. Throughout the years he lived there, he was given many errands to perform for his countrymen. He acted as guardian for boys sent there to school; he provided suitable lodgings for travelers; he suggested physicians for the sick and saw that they were properly cared for. Letters came from America asking him to purchase foreign magazines for the Boston Athenaeum, and grape vines from Fontainebleau; to visit the friends of an American Roman Catholic bishop and assure them of his welfare; to say a good word for the American ambassador to Sweden who, some thought, had been using his official position to further his private interests. The most spectacular experience of these years was the marriage of Napoleon to Marie Louise of Austria, and at this event Wilder had the honor of representing the United States, as the Ambassador, John Armstrong, was ill. On the same day he "had the honor of being present at, though not of partaking in" the banquet at the Tuileries given by the Emperor for several kings and queens.

It was not until his visit to this country in 1812 that he finally joined a church. It was observed that his "doctrinal views were not clear," though he was "in practice most conscientious." His life in Paris, however, had strengthened his feeling of "gratitude for the great work of redemption,"

and he felt it expedient to make a public profession of his stand. It may be observed, in passing, that though it took so long for him to decide to become a church member, he made up for the lapse of time by belonging to three different churches during the latter part of his life. It was during this visit home, too, that he met Miss Electa Barrel, of Northampton, whom he married on June 15, 1814.

The next year he returned to France again in time to witness the final defeat of Napoleon. Paris was ordered to surrender within twenty-four hours or be delivered to pillage for three days. Wilder, at the time, had large supplies of merchandise on hand, and for a few hours was much concerned as to their fate. Luckily for him, the city surrendered before the stated time, and his goods were not destroyed or captured. Having visited the fields of battle, seen country villages destitute, farm lands laid waste, and the results of death and destruction on all sides, he concludes his account of the experience; "Oh, happy America! little do you appreciate the inestimable privileges you so peculiarly enjoy."

Having been in France during most of Napoleon's reign as Emperor, Mr. Wilder took an interest in his fate after his defeat. Through Latour Maubrey he sent a message to the former ruler which read, in part, "Fly to the United States! I know the hearts of the leading men, and the sentiments of the people of America. You will there find a second country, and every source of consolation." The scheme was this: Napoleon was to board one of Wilder's ships disguised as a valet. A large hogshead was to be made ready, with a false compartment from which water was to drip constantly. In the other end, Napoleon was to be concealed. When the party arrived in this country they were to pro-

ceed to Bolton where the Wilder family was then living, and the fugitive was to be hidden, for at least six months, in a log cabin on the estate.

It was about the time of his marriage that Mr. Wilder bought the house in Bolton which, ever since, has been known as the "Wilder Mansion." This beautiful place became "home" for the next thirty years, though much of his time was necessarily spent elsewhere.

In 1817, Mr. Wilder took his family from Bolton to Paris. There the Wilder home became a center of Protestant influence and an "exchange for all respectable Americans" in Europe. According to the Reverend Jonas King, later the first missionary sent out by the Paris Missionary Society, it was only through Mr. Wilder's influence with Talleyrand that religious activities could be carried on there so freely.

It was not only those interested in religious activities who gathered at his home, however. Washington Irving, Albert Gallatin, Edward Everett, and the Ambassador, John Armstrong, were frequent visitors there. Reverend Dr. Robertson of the Episcopal Church said later, "I met one evening at Mr. Wilder's, at an informal gathering, seventeen persons belonging to five or six different nations."

In June, 1823, Mr. Wilder and his family returned to America. His life in Bolton was "an Americanized version" of life in Paris. For some time he applied himself to the care of his farm, believing that he had permanently retired from business. Although he had retained management of the place during his absence, he was now able to attend to it personally, and he did much to improve the whole estate. He drained land and built dams, forming a large fishpond. He enclosed several acres to form a poultry yard of such dimensions that soon flocks of "domes-

licated wild geese would fly from it for miles about the country.” He had sent fruit trees from France, and grape vines from the very gardens of Versailles, and these were now bearing fruit.

A great many men found work on the estate, and after a time the Wilders invited them and their families to the mansion to take part in family prayers on Sunday afternoons. Naturally, rumors had spread about the remarkable things to be seen at the Wilder home, and some of the neighbors asked to be allowed to attend these services, also. Their reasons were perhaps not wholly religious at first, but having satisfied their curiosity, many continued to come “from a more worthy motive.” Unitarianism, to which Mr. Wilder was much opposed, had made headway in the community, and the Sunday meetings at the mansion offered an opportunity for those with more orthodox views to worship in their own way. A short time later, the Hillside Church was started, an outgrowth of these meetings.

Early during his stay in Bolton, Mr. Wilder held the only political office he ever desired or accepted. It was that of road commissioner for the town. He was anxious to hold the office, and so much interested in improving the condition of the highways that he offered to contribute money to the cause if the town would match from the treasury any amount he might give. He did his part only too well. The next year found him out of office, because the town feared it would be forced into bankruptcy if the expenditures should continue. It is probably the only time in the history of Bolton that she has not been in a position to accept financial aid.

The Wilder Mansion was the scene of many happy gatherings. Several who visited there have left records of their

delight in the beauty of the surroundings, and the friendliness of the household. "Bolton, beautiful Bolton Hill; in many memories, what associations cluster about this pleasant Massachusetts home. . . . An enlarged Christian hospitality was an essential feature of its daily routine." . . . "The ride from Worcester to Bolton, as every one acquainted with it knows, can hardly be surpassed in rural beauty, and it then being mid-summer, the deep verdure and balmy air rendered it grateful and exhilarating. That pleasant twilight ride I shall never forget. Arrived at the mansion I was introduced to one of the sweetest home circles I had ever seen, I was provided with a fine saddle horse, and explored all the pleasant roads for miles around. Christian neighbors were invited to meet me, and prayer meetings were held. The whole air and atmosphere of that mansion was truly Christian."

The most distinguished visitor to the home in Bolton was Lafayette, who stopped there overnight on his visit to this country in 1824. Josiah Quincy was then mayor of Boston, and on August 27, 1824, he wrote Mr. Wilder giving final arrangements for conducting the French general through Massachusetts. He was to reach Bolton on Thursday evening, September 2, and proceed to Worcester the next morning in time to breakfast there. The arrangements were carried out as planned, and without delays, in spite of the large crowds which gathered all along the way to greet the beloved champion of liberty. No doubt it was the most picturesque event which ever took place in Bolton. Dr. Levi Sawyer prepared pitch-pine knots and placed them along the fence on both sides of the road for some distance below the mansion. One account says they extended clear to the Stow line. These were lighted as the cavalcade

approached, so that it proceeded through an avenue of fire. Candles were lighted in every window through the town. The general was met at the county line by a band of cavalry from Worcester, and by the Bolton Militia, which was afterward known as Lafayette Guards. Thus escorted and cheered by the crowds which had gathered along the road to do him honor, Lafayette arrived at the Wilder homestead. The mansion was ablaze with light. An arch over the gate was inscribed with the words, "The sword of Jehovah, of Washington, and of Lafayette." Lanterns placed among the trees added still more brilliance to the gay scene. The veterans of the Revolution, according to an eye-witness, were formed in a hollow square "in the center of which was placed a box, lighted by candles on the inside, and with letters cut through forming the words, "Bunker Hill," "Newton," "Saratoga," and "Yorktown," battles in which these old veterans had participated. Throughout the night the Bolton company guarded the mansion, the first night, according to Lafayette, that he had been so honored. In the morning another great crowd assembled to see him off. He made another short speech, as he had done the night before, and then, escorted by the companies of soldiers, he resumed his journey. Bolton has the "hospitable home of S. V. S. Wilder, Esq." to thank for what is probably the most colorful event in her history.

In spite of Mr. Wilder's belief that he was through with the business world, he soon invested in a Boston manufacturing company, with a factory located at Ware. Wilder was asked to represent the company's interests there and at first refused. The other men who made up the company knew how to get what they wanted, however. Although most of them were Unitarians, they offered, on two condi-

tions, to contribute three thousand dollars to build an Evangelical Church in Ware. The conditions were that Mr. Wilder was to go to the village and manage the business, and the people of the town, interested in the project, were to give another three thousand dollars to the cause themselves. When Mr. Wilder heard this motion seconded, "and saw twenty hands elevated in behalf of carrying the motion into effect, I did not dare to disregard the obvious call of Providence, and at once gave my consent." As usual, Mr. Wilder gave liberally of time and money to the cause of Evangelical Christianity. The report soon got back to Boston that he was allowing the workers to leave their jobs during working hours to attend religious services. One of the owners was sent to investigate the extraordinary state of affairs. He "found that the work actually accomplished during that year, when religious meetings were so abundant, considerably exceeded in quantity that produced by the same number of hands the year previous . . . the directors were well satisfied, mysterious as the result was." Thus was Mr. Wilder among the first to discover that rested and happy workers are more profitable than long hours of labor.

In 1828, the family was back in Bolton again. It was in that year that the first steps were taken to form the Hillside Church, an account of which is given in another chapter of this book. It is well to note, however, that public opinion at the time was far from united as to the value of the project. The controversy between Unitarian and Evangelical churches, which raged so hotly in those days, found Wilder on the side of the Evangelicals. In Bolton, and the other towns from which people came to the Hillside Church, the question was the most pressing one of

the day, religiously. Mr. Wilder was the target for blame by the Unitarians since it was largely through his activities that the Evangelical group was so active in this region. In 1831, therefore, forty men living in the south village of Lancaster sent him a long letter informing him, in no uncertain terms,

that we look upon your coming and view your presence among us as a calamity of no ordinary kind. . . . That you are sowing contentions, hatred, and discord, where peace, happiness, and good order have hitherto prevailed. That family hatred, strife and abuse have been the effects in every family where you have made proselytes and we look upon the fruits of your zeal as worse than the pestilence that stealeth at noonday. . . . In short . . . we shall hail your departure from this section of the country as a blessing to the people, which we hope may long be continued to them.

Somehow it is easy to sympathize with these people who found Mr. Wilder's attitude so uncompromising and careless of the feelings of those who differed from him. His unusual wealth and strong personality must have made him a formidable foe.

The biography of Mr. Wilder, published by the American Tract Society, tells of an encounter between him and President Jackson, who was also noted for his determination. In his first message to Congress, Jackson referred to the debt which France owed this country in such a way as to imply that unless it was paid within a short time the United States would go to war to collect it. The Duc de Broglie, whom Wilder had known in France, was then Prime Minister, and the following October he wrote Wilder to the effect that however great his desire to pay the debt might be, "yet were he to do it under the aforesaid threat, it would

creat a revolution in France.” He desired an apology, or at least a softer request, from our President before complying with the demand. Knowing the unyielding character of Jackson, Wilder had no great hopes of being able to accomplish the task of getting him to change his statement. Wilder went to call on him at the White House, and after a rather heated discussion, concluding with “an Appeal . . . in his own inimitable manner,” he finally got the President to yield. The “appeal” which so “affected” the President begins thus :

If by one turn of your pen, merely softening an expression, you, sir, avert from this land and from France all the horrors of a bloody conflict, generations yet unborn will bless your name . . . eternity alone will disclose all the beneficial effects of it amid the splendors of celestial glory. That you, sir, may have grace to do this, God grant for the Redeemer’s sake !

During these years, Wilder continued his interest in religious, civic, and educational societies. In 1825, he was elected first president of the American Tract Society. In 1865, this organization published the only full account of his life ever written, from which most of the material for this chapter was obtained. He was a member of many other societies and organizations. At one time, in fact, he was active in twenty-one different societies.

As may be expected, Mr. Wilder was an ardent advocate of temperance. He conducted an experiment along this line on his farm in Bolton, and the account of it was later published as a tract entitled, “The Well-Conducted Farm.” He requested his workers to give up “ardent spirits” in all forms for one year. In return for this he promised “nourishing food and drink in any abundance they wished and twelve dollars additional wages at the close of the year.”

His biographer remarks, "Mr. Wilder's offers were so liberal that no workman could suspect a sordid motive." The results were highly satisfactory, for the men "were afterwards remarkably uniform in their temper and deportment, still and peaceable." His strong stand for temperance makes it impossible not to smile, or sigh, according to one's temperament, at the irony of a fate, which, years later, built a cider mill on the very spot where his Evangelical Church stood. No doubt the forty men who wrote him their letter in 1831 would feel that the blessing of his long absence from among them had indeed been granted.

After 1830, the Wilders spent most of their time in New York, except for the summer months. In 1841, the Wilder fortunes again began to dwindle, as in past generations they had done for father and grandfather. The panic of 1836 did not strike at once, but by 1841 the frauds in connection with the packing and sorting of cotton, the depreciation in real estate values, and the collapse of the United States Bank, in all of which Mr. Wilder had interests, finally took their toll. The fortune, great as it was for those days, vanished, leaving the family actually in debt. Before the obligations could be met, Wilder was imprisoned for debt by a company which had been injured by his activity in the cause of temperance. The opportunity now came for him to show his sincerity in his religious stand, and he met the test in a way which all must admire :

Rather than do an act of injustice to lenient creditors by paying, even if it were in my power, a coercive creditor, I am willing to go . . . to prison . . . nor will I assent for the sake of avoiding a prison, to take the required oath that I am not in possession, nor have under my control, nor do I possess to the value of twenty dollars, when the very glasses to which I must have recourse to sign the oath are worth more money.

Accordingly, he was for a time an inmate of the Worcester Jail. He remained there until his creditors themselves arranged his release, since he refused to allow his friends to pay the debt while so many others were still outstanding. He insisted that "all creditors should be treated alike, and share alike."

In 1845, he definitely removed his residence from "beautiful Bolton Hill." The very last years of his life were spent in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and, during the summer, at White Lake, New York. In 1864, he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in the latter place, among many friends and members of their family gathered to do them honor.

With the collapse of his fortune Mr. Wilder gave up most of his work in various societies, and the last twenty years of his life were spent in comparative quietness. In a less spectacular way he continued his work in church and community almost to the time of his death. His acceptance of his fate in the business world is described as "Christian resignation as opposed to the stoical, almost stolid, indifference with which most men affect to meet what they call the decrees of fate."

He died March 3, 1865, in his eighty-fifth year, and lies in the cemetery in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Probably few, if any, private citizens of his day had lived a life of such varied and, on the whole, useful activity. Having known great wealth, still he was not embittered by lack of it, and the last years of his life proved beyond a doubt that he could do that hardest thing of all — practice what he preached.

XXV

BOLTON TODAY

Ring out the old, ring in the new.

LORD TENNYSON

TIME has wrought some changes in Bolton as elsewhere, but here it has been mostly in living conditions, which compare most favorably with those of the country as a whole. After two hundred years, the town remains a farming and residential community, and the village is probably as good an example of a colonial town as one could find within a fifty-mile radius of Boston.

The citizens remain friendly, home-loving people, somewhat reserved, interested in their church, schools, and local government — fine people and good neighbors.

Originally this town, like other New England towns, was built around the church, one church for all. As time went on, differences of opinions caused divisions in the congregation and the formation of other churches. This was very satisfactory until the lack of finances and the economic unrest threatened the churches. Then the members of the Bolton churches solved this problem by uniting and forming the Federated Church. This has proven to be a good way of defeating a situation that is still worrying many other communities.

The backbone of any town is the resourcefulness and unity of its citizens. The people of this town have clearly shown both resourcefulness and unity in their management of town affairs during the past few years. Taxes have been

and are a serious problem here as elsewhere, but the citizens have succeeded in keeping their taxes below the average of the rest of the state.

The preparations for the Bicentennial celebration have shown the same unity, every family in the whole town being active in these preparations.

Bolton's future appears assured. Situated thirty miles from Boston and twenty miles from Worcester, the town has an excellent location. It is certain that many desirable families will be attracted to take up residence here within the next few years, as there is a decided trend upon the part of city residents to remove into the country.

It is a matter of only a year or two before the new "Pike" from Boston connecting with the Mohawk Trail will be completed through the town. It will then be possible to drive to the business section of Boston in forty-five minutes or less. This feature will be certain to induce many business people to consider the town as a place of residence.

Bolton is truly a fine location in which to build, as it is possessed of many large hills whose tops are plateau-like and whose slopes are expansive, the view being unsurpassed in the eastern part of the state. From these hills can be seen farms, orchards, streams, forests, valleys, and always in the background various mountain ranges.

The natural beauties of Bolton are frequently remarked on by visitors. Brooks, meadows, intervalles, and forests are to be found here. The roads are lined with shade trees and many specimen trees of noble proportions grace fields and lawns. The varying terrain invites all kinds of wild life; birds in particular are abundant, some of rare species. Every kind of native wild flower adorns the woodlands and meadows.

Within the borders of the town are two picturesque ponds known as West Pond and Little Pond. At West Pond there is a County Health Camp for children. The Algonquin Council, Boy Scouts of America, owns an extensive and modern camp at Little Pond. Adequate bathing facilities at both ponds are available to the public.

The town is covered by a network of good roads and shows an increasing number of fine residences. Agriculture also seems firmly established, and is considerably above the average in quality and progressiveness. Numerous young orchards testify as to its future growth and stability. Land values are good and quality unusually excellent. It therefore seems entirely probable that land will be used for both residential and agricultural purposes.

From its earliest days, Bolton has been a place which many have been proud to claim as their residence. On her two-hundredth birthday she may say, with William Allen White, "I am not afraid of tomorrow, for I have seen yesterday and I love today."

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